181 and singing, playing and listening to music, eating festively, drinking rice beer, and implicitly sexual activity; in practice, [521] these are the activities characteristic of a Santal festival. When a traditional and typically uneducated Santal meets another from a distant region, one of the first questions asked will be, "How is pleasure in your region?" The reply will focus on the [152] activities mentioned above. Indeed, the only occasion in which I observed a fully sober Santal male adult burst into tears was during such a festive event. When I asked the old man why he was weeping at such a time, he replied, "The sounds of the drum remind me of the pleasure of my youth and of my [273] deceased wife who shared in my pleasure." It will be recalled [192] that it was rice beer which enabled the propagation of the Santal to proceed in the beginning of things, and if there is one word which is more frequently uttered than any other, more frequent even than the sound of festive drums, it is the cry of "*haṇḍi, haṇḍi haṇḍi*" (rice beer; from *handia*, Hindi = [539] an earthenware container). As the Santal sing:

> Oh "flower friend"*
> I am thirsty and I am hungry;
> But hearing the sound of the drums under the canopy†
> My thirst and hunger are banished.

181 The Santal pleasure complex is of primary importance in 527 considering recent economic and political events, but here the concern is with "pleasure" as a shared understanding serving the solidarity of the Santal. As the Santal think of it, "pleasure"

[192] * A "flower friend" or *phul* (as in Hindi *phul* = flower) is a formally cele-
[572] brated ritual friendship.
[192] † The "canopy" or *chamda* is utilized in wedding ceremonies to cover the
[585] area in which the ceremony takes place.

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177 583 [192] vermilion on the bride at the door"), *duar bapla* ("door marriage"), or *Diku bapla* ("Hindu marriage"); henceforth it shall be referred to as *DB*. All these names call attention to the fact that in this form, as distinct from all others, vermilion is applied to the bride before the door of the bride's [192] house rather than the groom's. The term *Diku bapla* reminds one in addition that application of vermilion at the bride's house is the Hindu custom, while in all other forms of marriage it is applied at the groom's house. It also points to the fact that this form generally involves more Hindu traits than any other. Unlike the other forms, a proper *DB* requires the hiring of a Hindu band and dancers, and the performance, before the application of vermilion, of the marriage of the bride to a tree, a rite which is practiced by many neighboring Hindu castes. The *DB*, like other arranged marriages, allows the couple if they are mature to give or withhold consent before marriage arrangements are completed. Such consent is almost always forthcoming, for a Santal girl rarely dares to go against her parents' wishes. Nearly all the inhabitants of both the bride's 177 • 585 and groom's village are involved in the marriage ceremony and ensuing activities. A large party from the groom's village accompanies the groom to the village of his bride. Tradition requires his family to hire from some Hindu caste (usually Harijans or members of other castes of low status) a number of men to carry the groom on a palanquin to the bride's house; a Hindu dancing girl and entertainers ought also to be part of [495] the entourage. Today, if the groom happens to be a TISCO worker returning to his village to have a *DB* marriage, he may [533] be borne by a hired taxi instead. One such worker imported for the occasion, a hired wagon equipped with a phonograph and loud speakers, thereby enabling his rural brethren to listen

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585 to Indian cinema music in which the syncopations of "rock 'n
495 roll" were considerably in evidence.
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The large number of participants in a *DB* not only gives
585 testimony to affluence of the families being united but is indicative that the marriage establishes a bond between villages as well as between kin and the couple. This broader social implication is borne out by certain obligatory acts in all marriage forms but is particularly conspicuous in the two highest forms.
585 In both of these forms the concern of the entire village is most
524 dramatically expressed in two rites which precede the marriage, i.e., the "scold the husband song" (*jawã eger sereñ*) and the "riddle song" (*episet' seren'*). The first of these rites, which is performed in the bride's village before the marriage rite itself, involves mocking the appearance, virtue, and wealth of the groom and his party and is done by the assembled village females. The second rite is led by a collection of village representatives (*mõṛe hoṛ*) which may include any of the married men of the bride's village. They halt the groom's party along the pathway to the bride's house demanding answers to riddles. It is made to appear that the groom's party shall not be permitted to pass if the correct answers are not forthcoming. On one occasion which I observed, the correct answers were not given, so that the groom's party could only move on by the grace of the village representatives and after being somewhat humiliated. It would appear that the type of riddles posed could not be divined without prior instruction in certain traditional knowledge. One hears such riddles as the following: "What is it that tied walks and untied sits and rests?" Answer: "When you plow, then you tie the bullocks, and you tie the plow to the yoke; if you tie them they will walk and you will chase them; when you finish, you untie them, bullocks and yoke." Or to give

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• 585 524 another of a more esoteric sort: "It is made of brick and gold-plated. The 'assistant headman' [*Jogmaṅjhi*] wants a dhoti [a traditional male garb consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth tied about the body in a variety of ways] to be given to the go-between [*raebar*] for a marriage but the 'headman' [*maṅjhi*] does not want it to be given." Answer: "This would be during an eclipse (brick and gold-plated). The 'assistant headman' would ask for the dhoti for the go-between, but the 'headman' knows about the eclipse and says no because during an eclipse no marriage can be performed." The significance of this answer lies, of course, in the superior traditional knowledge and authority of the headman.

Each time the groom's party is halted the village representatives make such remarks as "Yes, you must be put to some trouble, for you are taking a bride from us"; or "The oldest son of so-and-so has come to be married but the path is too narrow." With a lack of social understanding which perhaps can only be acquired in college, a "B.A. failed" with a bride's party at one such occasion asked with an appropriately insulting tone what the largest flower in the world was; after rejecting various witty replies, he announced that all present were fools and if they were not all so "ignorant" they would know that it was "rafflesia"!

Members of the groom's party proceed with exaggerated boasts of the great wealth they are bringing. In this and a number of other ways the involvement of the entire village of the bride and that of the groom is expressed. While this is 583 particularly true of the two highest forms of marriage, it is true to some extent even of the lesser forms which require at least the notification of the headman.

The bride-price proper (*gonoṅ*) in all forms of Santal mar-

you are surely forgetting the battle-axe, leaving it here; look here is yours. And he gives them the shoulder of the goat; they take this along with them. 584

In the same way the father of the bride and their party also go and give the bridegroom the sign of betrothal.

e. Handing over the money.

The marriage-broker goes and comes. The bridegroom's father says to him: Do find out what the friends have in mind and bring us word. He goes, and on returning he says: They have said yes. The father of the bridegroom then calls the village headman and his deputy, the Jǫg Mạńjhi and two-three of the village people together and gives them beer. The village headman then asks him: What beer is this? The father of the bridegroom says: This, Sir Headman, is marriage-broker beer; my intention is that we should hand over the money[12]. They finish the beer.

They then tie knots on a string, for five days or seven days. The marriage-broker takes the knot-string to the people of the bride's side. If these think the day too near, they want a longer time, and what they say will be done.

When the fixed day comes, the bridegroom's father calls the village headman and his deputy, the Jǫg Mạńjhi and the Goḍet and says: The day for handing over the money has come; come along, we shall go as the bridegroom's party. Then these people say: There are small and big people in the village; let us first call and bring them. Then they send the Goḍet to call them together. They come and ask the bridegroom's father: Look here, Sir, will there be enough oil and turmeric or not? He answers: There will be enough. Now they make the village priest and his wife sit down beside each other on a mat, and the anointing girls[13] anoint them with oil and turmeric. Thereupon they anoint the village headman and his wife, after them the Paranik, the Jǫg Mạńjhi, the Jǫg Paranik and the Goḍet together with their respective wives. After this the parents of the bridegroom sit down on sheaves of thatching-grass and are anointed. Thereupon all the women of the village, big and small. Now the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please, bring the bridegroom, we shall anoint him. The bridegroom's mother then says: There is no conductor[14] of ceremonies. If the young man has no elder sister, then his elder brother's wife or even a (younger) sister will do for this. Again, they say, there is no follower[15] of the bridegroom, where shall we get such a one? Then they say: There is the son of his father's younger brother; he is younger than the bridegroom: we shall make him be the bridegroom's follower. If [605]

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[12] The payment of money is intended to be a proof of legal possession. [13] The anointing girls are — on both sides — three spinsters whose work is to anoint the bridal pair and others with oil and turmeric at the preliminary and the actual marriage operations. [14] The ạ̄ficurid, lit., the one who leads round, has always to be a near female relative of the bridegroom. [15] The follower (lumti), also called the "best-man", is always a real or, if none such is available, an imaginary younger cousin of the bridegroom. [585] [605]

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

584 morning they again send for the bridegroom's party. They give them beer, and the bride's mother gives the marriage-broker five seers of flattened and parched rice and ties it up in his cloth. All now go out into the courtyard and salute each other; they say good-bye to the bridegroom's party. And these come home, well and good.

f. Of the marriage itself.

The marriage-broker goes and comes. On both sides they get together what is needed for the marriage. When the money has been handed over, the marriage takes place, sometimes the same year and sometimes also after a lapse of one or two years.

• 585 When they feel like being able to have the marriage, the bridegroom's father says to the marriage-broker: Do bring us a knot-string[20] from the friends. He consequently goes to the bride's home and says to them: Please let us tie the knots. The bride's father then calls the village headman and his deputy and the Jog Mañjhi together and gives them beer. When they are drinking this the village headman asks him: What beer is this? The bride's father answers them: The marriage-broker has come; say for how many days shall we tie knots for him? They count the days and possible hindrances. When they have done this, they tie nine knots.

Thereupon they twist thread as signs for a twelve cubits long red and white striped cloth for the mother of the bride, and for an eight cubits long cloth for the bride's maternal grandmother, and a seven cubits long cloth for the bride's paternal grandmother. They give the knot-string and the twisted threads to the marriage-broker, and he takes them to the bridegroom's father.

When the bridegroom's father gets this, he calls the village headman and his deputy and says to them: You see this, they have sent us the knot-string; what are we to say? They say: It is well, let us also tie knots in reply to them. They drink the beer and also tie knots, five strings, one for the bride's father, one for the headman of the bridegroom's village, one for his deputy, one for the Jog Mañjhi, and one for the relatives of the bridegroom's father. The knot-string for the bride's father they at once send by the marriage-broker.

When three days remain, the bridegroom's father calls the village headman and his deputy and says to them: Listen, Sir, as you know, the day is getting near, let us set up the marriage-shed[21]. They answer him: All right. The bridegroom's father then says to them: Please get hold of five young men and five girls for me. The Jog Mañjhi then

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[20] To ensure keeping correct time, or to know the day of certain coming events the Santals tie knots or rather loops on a string, one knot for every day remaining. It is done in connexion with marriage and bhaṇḍan (the last funeral ceremonies). It is always an uneven number, seven or nine, and occasionally eleven knots. The string is taken to the parties concerned, who keep it and, as the days pass, release one knot each day; when the last knot is opened, they know that the day has come. It is to them a practical way of keeping time.

[21] See Santal Dictionary s. v. maṇḍwa. The word is Hindi.

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calls the young men in the village together, sending the Goḍet, and says to them: Do 585
set up a marriage-shed for us here. Thereupon he brings the village priest. When he 793
has come, the village headman says to the bridegroom's father: Please give the priest 782
three fowls, one speckled and two white ones, three half-seers of rice, one pot of beer, and the necessaries for making a sacrifice. The priest takes all this to the sacred grove or somewhere in the open field and sacrifices the fowls in the name of the marriage-shed. He makes the following invocation: Here then, Jaher era, in connexion with so and so setting up a marriage-shed I am giving thee, handing thee a sacrificial fowl; mayest thou with pleasure, with favour, accept this, receive this; mayest thou caress this, deem this big; we are now going to such and such a village to be a bridegroom's party; on the road, in the forest may no sudden fear or alarm happen to us, no stumbling, no fall, no spells, no enchantments; to the right, to the left may you toss it away, spatter it away, Father my Ṭhakur. We shall eat, we shall drink, do not let stomach-ache, headache arise, be caused. With the friends may there be no strife, no quarrel, no evil, no enmity, no loss, no destruction, Father my Ṭhakur. While reciting this invocation he offers the speckled fowl to Jaher era. Thereupon he sacrifices one white fowl to The Five (Mõṛẽko Turuiko)[2], making a similar invocation. Lastly he sacrifices the remaining white fowl to Marak̃ buru, and to him also he recites an invocation in the same way. The village priest has brought a couple of men with him; they make a hash of the fowls and eat them, and the pot of beer they brought they also drink; thereupon they return home.

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The Jog Mãjhi then again goes to the marriage-shed and asks the young men: Have [824]
you finished the marriage-shed or not as yet? They answer him: Yes, we have finished it. The Jog Mãjhi then says to them: Dig a hole in the middle of the marriage-shed; we shall put a Mahua tree down there. He next asks them: Have you finished digging the hole or not as yet? He says to them: Enlarge the hole down below in the ground. When they have done this, the Jog Mãjhi says to the bridegroom's parents: Bring three branches of raw turmeric and five cowries and three tips of dhubi grass. Grind the turmeric, mix three grains of sun-dried rice into the turmeric. They collect this and cover it up in a bundle, and where they have enlarged the hole, there they put it down. When this is done, they plant the Mahua tree in the dug hole, and when they have planted the Mahua tree they wrap a straw-rope round it up to the top.

Thereupon the Jog Mãjhi calls the woman, the conductor of ceremonies, and says to [343]
her: Plaster this with earth and make it smooth, and whitewash it with flour, and grind some red-ochre stone; when this is done, paint figures on the marriage-shed post, and paint pictures of the bride and bridegroom in front. The conductor of ceremonies does this.

Thereupon the Jog Mãjhi says to the young men who set up the marriage-shed: This [515]
is finished; now before anything else have some food and strengthen yourselves. He goes

[2] See Santal Dictionary s. v.

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2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 [515] into the bridegroom's house, brings out oil and toothbrush twigs and gives this to the young men and says to them: Do go and have a bath. They consequently go and bathe and brush their teeth. Coming back to the house they sit down. The Jog Mañjhi brings an earthenware pot of beer out from the house of marriage, pours the beer out and gives it to them, and they drink. Thereupon he brings out one big flat basket with rice and one small earthenware pot with curry. Further he brings leaf-plates and a loṭa out; handing them the loṭa he says to them: Do pour out water for yourselves; wash your hands. They do this; the Jog Mañjhi then says: I say, one of you, please give us the rice, and one of you the curry. Then they all eat, and when they have had food, he says to them: Twist some strings with fringes, some of you young men twist the strings, and some of you fetch mango leaves and insert them in the strings; tie the strings in the four corners of the marriage-shed. They do this. Again the Jog Mañjhi says to them: Fix strings in three places in the village street[23], one string outside the headman's house, and one at each end of the village street. They do this and finish all, so far as they are concerned.

[302] Thereupon the bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please call the village headman and his deputy and all the married ladies of the village and bring them here, to anoint them with oil and turmeric. He does this himself, and they come. When they have sat down, they first give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. After this the Jog Mañjhi calls the anointing girls and says to them: Do anoint them for us with oil and turmeric. They do this; first they anoint the village priest and his wife, thereupon the priest of the outskirts and his wife, thereupon the village headman and his wife, thereupon his deputy with his wife, next the Jog Mañjhi and his wife, next his deputy and his wife, thereupon the Godet and his wife, and thereupon all the married ladies of the village. This they call the marriage-shed oil and turmeric. When all have been anointed, the parents of the bridegroom sit down on thatching-grass sheaves, and they are both anointed. Lastly they anoint the bridegroom sitting on a mat between his follower and the lady conductor of ceremonies. At this time they sing[24]:

[539]

Turmeric, turmeric, perfect stuff,
Who is she who anoints me with turmeric,
Consecrating me to become a man?

Turmeric, turmeric, perfect stuff,
Mother anoints me with turmeric,
Consecrating me to become a man.

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[23] These strings are arranged so as to run across the street. [24] The song is, like many others sung during the marriage ceremonies, in a corrupt form of Bihari: these songs are often very difficult to understand. As a matter of fact, it has in many cases happened that no Santal has been able to tell what they really mean.

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When they have anointed the bridegroom, they anoint his follower, and last of all they anoint the conductress of ceremonies. When they have again drunk two leaf-cups of beer each, they separate and go home. But from this day until the marriage is finished the young men and girls dance day and night. [302] [535]

After three days the time for going with the bridegroom comes. The father of the bridegroom then at cock-crow pours out one earthenware pot full of "intimation" beer, and calling the village headman and his deputy, the Jog Mañjhi and his deputy he gives them beer. [273]

While they are drinking, the village headman asks the bridegroom's father: Look here, what beer is this? We do not find the malted grain. "Malted grain" is a metaphorical word, viz., the explanation of the matter, why he has brought them there. The father of the bridegroom then says in reply: Help us to-day to follow the bridegroom, the day fixed has come. The village headman then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Do call the village people together. He sends the Godet, who brings all there. They give beer to all. The bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please get hold of five men for me. He brings them, and the bridegroom's father says: Do bring food out for us the bridegroom's party, rice, curry, salt, and five pots of beer; when it is light we shall send forerunners in advance; and at the same time they take along one goat and one pot of beer, three half-seers of rice (if the bride-price is five rupees, then five half-seers of rice), three branches of the root of turmeric, tobacco, salt, and oil in a small earthenware vessel, the last mentioned things are obligatory presents, that is to say, they call them materials for offering to the bongas.

When the forerunners have had food, they take all the things mentioned along in advance. When they reach there, one of them goes to the house where the marriage is to be held. Here also they have set up a marriage-shed and have worked as in the bridegroom's village. The man says: How is it, Sir, we the forerunners have come. The bride's father then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please shew them where to stay. The Jog Mañjhi then takes the forerunners to where they have made sheds for the bridegroom's party. He gives them earthenware pots for water and cooking, a flat basket, wooden ladles, firewood, leaf-plates, and leaf-cups; thereupon he returns to the house of marriage.

After they have sent the forerunners off, the people of the bridegroom's village, men and women, go to have "water-marriage". The bridegroom's mother takes a flat basket along. In this there is sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, a bunch of dhubi grass, one egg, oil, and sindur and one ball of thread. The wife of the bridegroom's father's younger brother carries a sword, and his paternal aunt carries bow and arrows. Two anointing girls carry on their heads narrow-necked earthenware pots resting on pads of thread, having covered them up with clothes for the bride; these two pots they call omen-pots. A brother-in-law [604] [607]

585 [601] of the bridegroom they have made best-man[20]; he takes a kodali along, and the Jog Maṅjhi himself takes beer and leaf-cups along. The other people are only onlookers. They who have the flat basket, the sword and the bow and arrows in their hands, go dancing, until they reach the way down to the water. When they arrive there, they dance three times round. At this time the best-man digs a small basin near the water's edge, and making an opening he lets the water come into the small basin. When this is done, the Jog Maṅjhi plants three arrows in three corners of this basin; he winds thread five times round and puts one egg down near one of the arrows. He puts one cowry near each arrow; when he has done this, he applies sindur to the arrows. Thereupon he pours out as a libation one leaf-cup of beer to Maraṅ buru, one leaf-cup to the deceased village headman, and one leaf-cup to Pargana haṛam (the bonga). The remaining beer they drink.

Now the bridegroom's mother, his father's younger brother's wife and his paternal aunt dance three times round the place, and the two anointing girls follow round after these, and after these two all the others there. After this she who has the bow and the arrows in her hand shoots an arrow into the water, and she who has the sword, cuts the water; thereupon the two anointing girls draw water. After this all of them return and go into the marriage-shed.

The Jog Maṅjhi then says to the best-man: As we dug a basin there at the water-fetching place, dig one also here in the courtyard. He does this, and the Jog Maṅjhi plants three arrows at the three corners; on these arrows he winds thread five times round and says: Look here, you two girls, place the two omen-pots here. They do this.

The Jog Maṅjhi now says: Come here you three anointing girls, and take hold of the marriage-shed post. The bridegroom they also bring there. The Jog Maṅjhi ties the left hand little finger of the girls fast to the Mahua post, and gives each of them in their right hand one paddy grain, and from this paddy grain he makes them remove the husk with one hand without breaking it. They do this, and the Jog Maṅjhi looses them. Thereupon he takes a thread five times round from his right ear and to the little toe of his right foot and twists this. Now he calls out to a young man: Do bring some mango leaves, three. When he has done this, he says to him: Now bring three tips of dhubi grass and three sun-dried rice-grain, whole, not broken ones, and wet them a little with turmeric water. The young man brings the three rice-grains that the anointing girls unhusked and the dhubi grass. The Jog Maṅjhi then wraps the rice-grains and the dhubi grass up in the mango leaves and ties it with the thread he has twisted on to the bridegroom's right hand.

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[601] [20] The Santal word is the same which they use for a tankuda (babṛg), generally a relative, especially a brother-in-law. When the bridegroom performs the binding act by applying sindur to the forehead of the girl, he rides on the shoulder of this man.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

The Jog Mañjhi then says to the best-man: Please shave the bridegroom; and he does this. For shaving he gets two half-seers of flattened rice, two half-seers of rice, salt, and tobacco. Thereupon they take the bridegroom to the water in the marriage-shed. And they bring out two yokes and find a sword. They make the bridegroom sit down on the two yokes and make his father stand in front of him, holding the sword resting on his head. The Jog Mañjhi pours water with a loṭa from the omen-pot on the sword, and the water drips down on the head of the bridegroom, who is sitting behind his father's back. Thereafter they take the sword away, and the conductress of ceremonies bathes the bridegroom with the water of the omen-pot. 585

Now the bridegroom's party make themselves ready; they take food and drink beer in the bridegroom's home. While they are eating and drinking the anointing girls anoint the bridegroom, put necklaces and a solid neck-ornament on him and also apply eye-paint to his eyes. At this time they sing (in corrupt Bihari): [539]

How far away, how far away is the house of my bride's father?
How far away is the house of my father-in-law?
From here is the Ganges river, from there is the Jabo river,
Between these two, my boy, is the house of thy bride's father.

The oil and turmeric not spent in anointing they give into the marriage-broker's charge. The Jog Mañjhi now says to the bridegroom's parents: Please bring out the cloths for the bride, the red and white striped cloths, the cloths for the bride's grandmothers, the (turban) cloth for the bride's youngest brother, sindur for the bride's parents, oil for the bride's parents, Néem, ricinus leaves, and a little husks. They bring these things out to him, and he arranges them in a flat basket, and giving it into the marriage-broker's charge he says to him: Here are your things, see. [292]

Next the best-man asks for five flal-leaves, a small packet of sindur, and one handful sun-dried rice. They give him this, and he ties it up in his clothes. Thereupon the best-man puts a turban on the bridegroom, and the bridegroom's party all go out. The bridegroom's mother arranges a loṭa with water and molasses in a leaf-cup, and his father ties money up in his clothes. They go to the Mañjhi than. Here they spread out a mat, and the bridegroom's mother sits down on it. She lets the bridegroom sit on her thigh. When he has sat down, she gives her son molasses into his mouth. She washes his mouth and gives him a little water to drink. The bridegroom now takes a rupee into his mouth, and his mother sucks him a little. His mother holds out her hand, and the bridegroom lets the rupee he has taken into his mouth fall out into his mother's hand. This they call sucking money, and this is the mother's right.

The bridegroom, the best-man, the bridegroom's follower, and the anointing girls now bow to the Mañjhi haram (the deceased one), and a small pot of beer, that they have [769]

585 [166] brought there, this they also offer to him. The anointing girls now carry the bridegroom on their hip to the end of the village street and set him down there, and from there they return home. The marriage-broker conducts the bridegroom's party to the bride's home, carrying a [534] [178] kettle-drum along. Nowadays they go taking with them big drums, trumpets, horns, tubas, cornets, palanquins, rockets, catherine-wheels, bombs, guns, and so on, that is to say, wealthy people do this; but such things were not used formerly, and we did not employ Doms to drum.

When the bridegroom's party reach the bride's village, they call a halt at the entrance to the village street. The marriage-broker goes to the bride's home and says to them: We have arrived; if there is anything you have not got ready, finish it quickly. They answer him: We [302] are ready. The Jog Mañjhi now at once sends the Godet to summon the village people. They come there; they anoint themselves with oil and turmeric, beer they also drink, and all married women apply sindar[28] to themselves, but not spinsters, divorced ones, or widows.

Now the Jog Mañjhi makes the Godet carry a vessel with water on his shoulder, and he himself carries a lota with water, standing on a leaf-plate, kept on the palm of his hand turned upwards; they both go to the bridegroom's party, who have been dancing in the meantime. Seeing the Jog Mañjhi they stop. The Jog Mañjhi and the Godet say: Please, friends, drink water. The Jog Mañjhi hands the lota with water to the bridegroom's party; they receive it with both hands; thereupon they salute each other, and the bridegroom's party drink.

Thereupon the bride's mother, carrying on the up-turned palm of her hand a lota with water and a leaf-cup with molasses standing on a brass-plate, conducts the bride's party and the anointing girls on the bride's side and the women of the village to the end of the village street to meet the bridegroom with water. When they have reached there, she says to the marriage-broker: Bring the bridegroom here, we shall give them molasses to eat and water to drink. When the bridegroom's party and the bride's party have greeted each other and thus become one party, they dance. The marriage-broker says to the bride's mother: Look here, this one is the bridegroom. He salutes his mother-in-law and also a couple of the women. When the other women and the anointing girls see the bridegroom, [539] they sing a number of abusive songs:

To-day, they say, to-day he will come, to-morrow, they say, to-morrow he will come;
How big a wealthy man's son is he, that we must wait until midnight?

Thy mother made friends with a dog,
Thy mother made friends with a cat.
Fie, fie, to a bastard,
My daughter I do not give.[29]

[302]

[28] The sindur, the blood-red vermilion, is applied to the forehead at the parting of the hair, just enough to show that the lady has a husband living. A Hindu custom. [29] These two verses are in a kind of Hindi; the following verses are all in Santali.

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[539]

Formerly they say, young and nice, young and nice, they say,
Well, I saw him, he has teeth standing out,
Face like that of a goat to be sacrificed, ill-shaped forehead.

Your mother's love, young man,
Your father's predilection, young man,
You have become wrinkled, young man, like a garden fig.

The mother and father of the bridegroom, they say,
Have gone to the town to sell oil,
To trade in salt they have gone;
Oil, O no oil trade,
Salt, O no salt trade;
To the blacksmith's working place to blow the bellows they have gone.

Formerly, they say, go to the town with a fine little oil pot,
I saw him, I looked at him,
He is standing there with a hideous face like a holed pumpkin ladle.

Instead of "young man" here they use the bridegroom's name, singing his praise. The bride's mother then washes the bridegroom's feet; thereupon she rinses his mouth and puts molasses into his mouth; after this she again washes his mouth and gives him a little water to drink. In the same way she feeds also the best-man and the bridegroom's follower.

Now the anointing girls carry the bridegroom and his follower on their hip to the place outside the first house in the village street; the Jog Mañjhi goes along with them carrying the loṭa with water on the palm of his hand. The bridegroom's party and the bride's party follow after them dancing. Where the anointing girls have set the bridegroom down in the village street, here the woman of this house comes out and gives the bridegroom, his best-man and his follower molasses and water in their mouth. In the same way they treat them at every house. When they reach the outside of the bride's home, the bride's mother again feeds them. From there they go along the village street, and outside every house the women there feed them. Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi takes them outside the village, to where the bridegroom's party are to be encamped, and says to them: Here are your lodgings: please stay here. The bridegroom's party now eat their own food and drink their own beer.

The Jog Mañjhi then goes to the bride's home and tells them, i.e., all the women, to get ready; he says to them: Come along to bathe the bridegroom. They bring out one leaf-cup with oil, one leaf-cup with turmeric, one pot with water, one mat, one wooden slab to sit on, and one piece of loin-cloth and one cotton shawl for the bridegroom, and [515]

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● 585 [515] the Jog Mâjhi conducts them to the bridegroom's quarters, taking dancing-drums and kettle-drums along. When they reach there, the Jog Mâjhi says: Bring us our bridegroom. The bridegroom stands up, and the marriage-broker leads him by his hand to the woman, who spread out the mat, and makes the bridegroom sit down on it. Three elder sisters[28] of the bride rub the bridegroom in with oil and comb him.

When they have finished this, they take away the mat, place the wooden slab there and make the bridegroom sit down on it; they have brought with them one vessel full of water, and with this water they bathe him. When they have done this, the Jog Mâjhi says: Listen, you, how will the bridegroom throw the "afterbirth"[29] away? The women of the bride's side then give the Jog Mâjhi the loin-cloth and shawl, and he gives it to the bridegroom, who takes this on and covers himself after having taken off his wet clothes. The anointing girls then say: He has thrown the afterbirth away; what shall we boil it in? The bridegroom's party then give them a pot of beer. Carrying this on the head they take it to the Jog Mâjhi's house, and having put it down there they separate.

Thereupon the village headman calls the Jog Mâjhi and the Godet and says to them: Please call all the village people, big and small, together; come along, we shall see the application of sindur. They call them together, and when they have come, they say to the marriage-broker: Make yourselves ready; come along, we shall see the application of sindur. When they have come, the village people say to the Jog Mâjhi and the Godet: Please find and bring some mango leaves, five leaves. They get these. The bridegroom's party are staying in the village street outside the bride's home and are dancing there.

The people of the bride's side then say: Please, you of the bridegroom's party, come all inside. They go inside and are given beer, which they drink. Outside the best-man has taken the bridegroom up to ride on his shoulder. At this moment the marriage-broker says: The younger brother of the bride is crying awfully to get a cloth. The [609] village people then say: Bring him riding on somebody's shoulder. A brother-in-law of the bride then takes him on his shoulder and brings him out. They bring this one and the bridegroom together in the same place; they hand both of them water in a lota and five mango leaves, and they, i. e., all the people of the bridegroom's party, say to them: Now, bridegroom, sprinkle water with the mango leaves on his head three times. And all the people of the bride's side say to the young man: Now, you also, young man, sprinkle three times on the young bridegroom. They both sprinkle on each other. Thereupon they say to the bridegroom: Do put a turban on him. He does this, and they say to him: Now, kiss him. He does this; thereupon they blow chewed rice out of the mouth at each other. Thereupon they put the young man who got the turban down on the ground.

[28] Women who are, or are counted as sisters. [29] Here fig. about used clothes that are to be taken off.

Now they say: Please bring the bride. Inside the house they make the bride take on the bridal cloth and make her sit down in a flat basket. The Jog Mąńjhi then says to the bridegroom's party: Honoured bridegroom's party, this one you see here is for you. They carry her out into the village street outside the house to where they have the bridegroom riding on the best-man's shoulder. There they keep her lifted up, opposite to the bridegroom. Between these two the bridegroom's party now hang a cloth as a curtain. The Jog Mąńjhi on the bride's side puts a loṭa with water into the palm of the bride's hand, and the bridegroom's party do the same to the bridegroom and say to him: Now, young man, sprinkle water on her head with a mango leaf, three times. The bride's people also say to her: Now, you also sprinkle water on the bridegroom's head with a mango leaf, three times. They both do this. 585

Thereupon the best-man hands five Sal leaves to the bridegroom; in the uppermost of the leaves he has wrapped up some sindur. The bridegroom's party then say to him: Now remove the covering cloth from the bride's head. He does this, and he keeps the sindur in his left hand above the bride's head. The bridegroom's party say to him: First let a little fall down on the ground. He does this, and they say to him: Now with the little finger of your right hand smear five times on the bride's forehead. When he has done this, they say to him: With your left hand take hold of the bride's neck and plaster all the sindur on her. He does this; then they cry Horibol[30]. [302]

Thereupon the best-man puts the bridegroom down on the ground, and his party say to him: Now take your bride on your hip and down. He does this, and then the bride's elder sister comes and ties together the clothes of bride and bridegroom.

After this the bride's mother and those with her, the three sisters-in-law[31] (wives of brothers), go inside into the house and arrange on a brass-plate a little dhubi grass, a little sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, three balls of flour and three balls of cowdung, and turmeric in one leaf-cup, and oil in one leaf-cup they also put on this brass-plate; they come out from the house to the village street outside, where the bride and the bridegroom, and the duenna[32] on the bride's side and the best-man and the follower on the bridegroom's side are. The bride's mother waves the brass-plate three times over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom, of the best-man and the two followers[33]. After this she also three times waves over their heads the dhubi grass, a little of the sun-dried paddy, and of the sun-dried rice that is on the brass-plate; then she scatters the dhubi grass and the paddy and the rice behind their backs. And mixing the oil and turmeric together she smears some on the bridegroom's two cheeks; and he also takes oil and turmeric up from [607]

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[30] Horibol, the Bengali form for Hąribol, i. e. "call on Hari". [31] The wives of the bride's father (her mother) and of two of his brothers or cousins. [32] The lumti kuṛi or lumti buḍhi, who follows her to her new home and returns when all ceremonies have been performed. As a rule the bride has more than one such follower, generally three, sometimes even five. [33] See Dictionary s. v. sumąuṛa.

7 Oslo Bin. Mus. — Budding.

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585 the leaf-cup with his hand and in his turn smears some on his mother-in-law's two cheeks. After this the bride's mother does the same to the bride and the best-man and the two followers, and they also in their turn do the same to her. The two wives of the brothers of the bride's father also act in the same way.

[783] Thereupon two of those who performed the waving ceremony go into the house, and one of them takes some glowing embers out in an earthenware lid, and the other one takes a wooden pestle and brings it out to the street outside. They place the lid with the glowing embers before the bride and the bridegroom. The bride's mother then takes the pestle in her right hand and waves it over the lid with the glowing embers, and with her left hand she salutes the glowing embers; thereupon she takes the pestle in her left hand and waves it ceremoniously, and with her right hand she salutes the glowing embers; again she takes the pestle back in her right hand and waves it ceremoniously and salutes the glowing embers with her left hand. Then they give the pestle to her two sisters-in-law. They also both act in the same way, one after the other. Having acted in this way the last one stabs the glowing embers in the earthenware lid to pieces with the pestle and then carries the pestle quickly inside. All this they call "purifying"[38].

Thereupon she who tied the bride and the bridegroom together brings water in a loṭa and washes their feet, and, taking hold of the bride with her left hand, she leads the two into the house; what is left of the water in the loṭa that she has in her right hand, she pours it out, as she goes along, and the best-man and his party follow after the two. When they reach the door, the bride's younger sister blocks the way for them, and if she is unable to do it otherwise, she shuts the door. This they call the "shut door". The bridegroom gives her one anna; then she opens the way for them.

Inside the house they spread mats for them, and bride and bridegroom and their followers sit down on these. Now the anointing girls come and anoint them with oil and turmeric; when they have done this, they wash their hands. Thereupon they give them food. The bride's younger brother forcibly takes the rice from the bridegroom; he gives [607] him one mouthful into his mouth; thereupon they eat together from the same plate. When they have eaten, they again wash them. Thereupon the conductress of ceremonies (they also call her Mrs. Best-man) who tied bride and bridegroom together, unties their clothes that were bound together. Thereupon the bridegroom and the best-man and the young follower go out and into the cowshed.

After this the bride's father takes his co-parent-in-law and the marriage-broker and the Jog Mañjhi into the house to drink rice-gruel. The bridegroom's father has, as you know, been fasting since he came away from home. They give them beer and food. They now go out and into the cowshed. The bridegroom's party are staying in the village street outside the house.

[38] See Dictionary s. v. pavchau.

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Now the village headman and the Jog Mañjhi go inside the house. They give them each two leaf-cups of beer. They ask the bride's father: Let us take the bridegroom's party into the marriage-shed. Here they everywhere spread out straw for them. They call them; they come and all are standing there. The Jog Mañjhi on the bride's side speaks to the village headman on the bridegroom's side, addressing him by name, and says: You, our so and so village headman, Sir! He answers: Sir! The Jog Mañjhi says: Please, let us put our bodies upright like a grain-basket, let us set down the end of the spine. Now the bridegroom's party all sit down. Thereupon they bring one loṭa with water and put it down in front of them, and one leaf-cup with tobacco. 585 •

After this the bride's people ask the village headman on the bridegroom's side: You, our so and so Headman, Sir! He answers him: Sir! They say: When we sit down in one place, it is as if we live in one place. Now as regards soul and sept, body and skin, is it well with us or not? The bridegroom's party answer: As you see here, Sir, since it has been asked, inquiries have been made, our souls have grown like hills, our breasts have become broad like bamboo mats, our legs have grown five cubits longer, our beards have grown like buffalo horns: Sir, by your blessing we have become well. Those on the bride's side then say: By the grace of Thakur we shall get what is well. Then they sing:[38] [539]

O mother, don't go to your father's house,
O father, don't go to the king's court,
They are coming, O mother and father, my bridegroom's party.

Let them come, my daughter, let them come,
At the entrance, my daughter, there is a fine Sandal tree.
We shall place before them, my daughter, golden seats,
We shall give them to eat betal nuts.

Come, friends, sit down, friends,
In our courtyard, ladies.
Let first the prince, so and so prince sit down,
After him let the ten friends sit down.

Bring, O sister, one loṭa with water,
Bring, O sister, one bowl with tobacco;
Hookah and tobacco, it is the proper act.

Now they bring them beer; they drink two leaf-cups each. Thereupon the village headman and the Jog Mañjhi go inside to the bride's father and get each two leaf-cups of beer. When they have drunk this, the village headman says to the bride's father: We

[38] In corrupt Bihari.

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585 have given beer to the bridegroom's party; how is it, shall we, while they are sitting there, ask them for the remaining brideprice money or not? If there is not much beer, he will say: We shall settle it now, while they are sitting there.

The village headman and the Jog Mañjhi then both go out. The village headman says: We are to give these friends beer, you, Jog Mañjhi, bring it out from the house. The Jog Mañjhi fetches two men and takes them into the house. There they give them each two leaf-cups of beer, which they drink. The Jog Mañjhi says to them: I say, you two give these friends beer; give to all who have come, big and small. They say to him: [415] Please, Jog Mañjhi, get us two earthenware narrow-necked pots. He procures this for them and gives them a basket full of leaf-cups.

Commencing with the village headman and his deputy they give to the bridegroom's party and to all the village people, and they drink. Now the Jog Mañjhi says: Please, honoured bridegroom's party, we wish to see the remaining brideprice money; do take it out. Then they sing: [539]

Bring out, young man, bring out
Money, fine like the puṭhi fish.
Bring out, young man, bring out
Gold, like fish-blood.

Hand over, young man, hand over
Money, fine like the puṭhi fish.
Hand over, young man, hand over
Gold, like fish blood.

Who are you sitting there?
Money, fine like the puṭhi fish.
Who are you there with the others,
Gold, like fish blood?

So and so is sitting there,
Money, like the puṭhi fish.
Big people are together there,
Gold, like fish blood.

Now the marriage-broker gives the remaining one rupee (or three or five rupees) into the Jog Mañjhi's hand and says: Here, Sir, is the rest of the money. Commencing with the village headman he goes round and salutes all there. Thereupon the marriage-broker takes out a piece of women's clothing, two cloths for the bride's grandmothers and one cloth for her mother. Seeing these they measure them, how many cubits long they are;

they are of the proper length. The bride's mother then puts on the red and white striped cloth, and the mother of the bride's father and the mother of her mother put on the two grandmothers' cloths. And they sing:[38] 585 [539]

Mother took the fine cloth,
Father took a handful heavy rupees,
Brother took the bullock.

For one seer of rice
They bought sindur;
For all my life I shall be bound.

Soiled and torn will the fine cloth soon be,
Spent or stolen will the handful heavy rupees be,
Gone and broken will the bullock be.

For one seer of rice
They bought sindur;
For all my life I shall be bound.

Thereupon the marriage-broker brings out a goat that is to be (later) sacrificed, a pot of beer that is to be (later) libated, one half-seer of rice for each rupee of the brideprice, three bits of turmeric, a little salt, a little oil and a little tobacco, and gives it all to the parents of the bride. Thereupon he salutes all there, one after the other. The women who have got cloths, take the goat up in the lap and salute all, one after the other. Having tied the goat to the post they pretend to milk it. Then they bring a small earthenware vessel, and in this they put the malted grain of the beer; they bring leaves, and pretending that it is milk porridge of rice they divide it among the bridegroom's party, who pretend to eat it, and the women wash their hands.

Now the village headman says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please bring a loṭa with water. He brings it and takes it from the village headman to his deputy and thereafter to the bridegroom's party. They do nothing with this loṭa with water. The Jog Mañjhi only takes it to them. The village headman says to the Jog Mañjhi: When you take the loṭa with water to the bridegroom's party, tell them that we shall pluck vegetables[39]. One after the other they salute the loṭa with water.

The father of the bride now smears cow-dung round the foot of the marriage-shed-post; after this he brings rice on a leaf-plate out from the house and puts this down on the cow-dung plaster. Thereupon he brings one small earthenware vessel with beer and four leaf-cups. Thereupon they bring a castrated goat from the house and let it feed on the

[38] In a kind of Bihari. [39] Pig about the goat.

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585 rice. They place a pole on its neck. The Jog Mañjhi now takes the cord round the goat's neck and the pole, and calls out to the village people: Come here you. They come and pour water on the head of the goat. The Jog Mañjhi calls out to the bridegroom's party: Please, honoured bridegroom's party, the vegetables are becoming old and tough; come and pluck them for us. Then they sing:[*]

[539]

Seize the sword, seize the sword, valiant cavalier,
A pair of fine castrated goats are tied here;
Please, valiant one, use the sword quickly.

One man among the bridegroom's party then stands up, and as they told him, he brings a sword along, and with this he beheads the goat. The Jog Mañjhi goes into the house and brings out rice on a leaf-plate; on this they place the head of the goat. Again the Jog Mañjhi goes into the house and brings out one pot of poured-out beer and two large leaf-cups and three to four ordinary leaf-cups.

The bride's father now pours out as a libation two leaf-cups of beer; when he has performed this, he calls the one who kept the goat and the one who beheaded it. When they come, the bride's father takes the two leaf-cups; thereupon he links the arms of both together and hands them each a large leaf-cup, and gives them each one large leaf-cup full of beer. They both drink this, and he says: Please salute each other, and thereupon salute the village headman and his deputy and all the people here. Both of them do this, and now they all say: Up to this we presume we have made all well; let us break up the meeting. The bride's people then say to the village headman on the bridegroom's side, addressing him by name: Please, you our so and so headman, Sir, like a grain-basket let us move our bodies a little. He answers: Sir, it is well, it is right. They then all stand up together, and after having saluted the bridegrooms' party go to their lodgings. But five of their number stay there.

Now the Jog Mañjhi brings oil out from the house, and taking hold of two young men he says to them: You two please wash the feet of these friends. They do this; afterwards they again bring more water. The Jog Mañjhi then says to the five of the bridegroom's party: Come along, we shall go inside. When they have gone in, they place wooden slabs before them, and they sit down on these. The Jog Mañjhi then says to the two young men: Do bring beer and give the friends four leaf-cups full each. They give them this, and they drink it. Again the Jog Mañjhi says to the two young men: Do, one of you, give them rice and one of you curry, until their stomach is filled. They eat.

After this the bridegroom's party get from the bride's parents the return presents for the brideprice, viz., one goat, five half-seers of rice, salt, turmeric, oil, and one pot of beer. Having received this they salute them; they lead the goat away, carry the beer pot on

[*] In a kind of Bihari.

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the head, tie the rice up in their cloth, take the salt and turmeric in their hands, and they are off to their lodgings. This all of the bridegroom's party eat. 585

Now the Jog Mañjhi takes the head of the castrated goat that they killed a while ago, and one seer rice to the bridegroom's party and says to them: You, the bridegroom's party, a while ago you want to pluck vegetables; as you know, you forgot the basket and left it; look here, we are bringing it to you. They cook a hash of the goat's head and the rice and divide it among themselves, and put five portions aside for the Jog Mañjhi, who afterwards takes this away for himself. When he has given over the goat's head and left it with them, he takes five persons with him to the bride's home. These drink a pot of beer at the bride's paternal grandmother's; when they have done this, they go over to the bride's maternal grandmother and there drink another pot of beer; when this is done, they get one full pot of beer, twelve seers of parched and flattened rice, and one solid brass necklet and take this with them to their lodgings.

Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi goes to the lodgings and gets the five portions of the hash. He says to all of the bridegroom's party: Come along to the village headman to pay the marriage-shed money. The bridegroom's party put a pot squeezed-out beer in a sling and [534] first-class beer in a loṭa and take this along, and the Jog Mañjhi conducts them to the village headman; and the bridegroom's party drum a kettle-drum as they go along. They reach the headman's house, where they spread out straw in the cow-shed, on which they let the bridegroom's party sit down.

The bridegroom's party then say to the headman: Please, Sir village headman, call the village people together; we cannot possibly do it alone. Then they call all the village people together, men and women. The Jog Mañjhi then says: Please, Father headman, now, you know, you are mother and father, please ask the friends for us, how they are. The village headman then commences:*

Well then, Father headman, the two, husband and wife, a coveted boy, food and wealth, male and female servants, female agricultural servants and labourers, forefathers and ancestors, grandfathers and fathers, father's younger brothers uncles, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and daughters, a house with rice, a house with water, cattle and sheep and goats, the mother's property, the wife's property, clothes and ornaments, body and soul, earth below, cold water, (on the other side of) one river sixteen kos, to this place we do not go and come: is it well with us all or not, Sir? The headman's deputy also speaks in the same way. Thereupon the village headman and his deputy ask the bridegroom's party, the friends: How is it, Sir, have you come to get as far as here, or how far are you going? The bridegroom's party answer: Up to here we have manifolded our steps,

* What the village headman starts saying is a rattling enumeration of what is deemed belonging to a prosperous family, partly literal, partly fanciful words. The purpose of the following conversation seems to be the wish to have an agreed statement of what has led up to the marriage, and that it is in customary order.

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585 Sir. The headman then says: There are different ways of wandering about; they wander in a forest, they seek for wood: this will do for a plough-beam, that will do for a yoke, this will do for a wheel, that will do for a stick, this will do for a plough, that will do for a plough-handle. We go about to villages; we look for vessels; this will do for a wide-mouthed earthenware vessel, that will do for a water-pot, this will do for a narrow-mouthed earthenware vessel, that will do for a small vessel. Now as for you, what kind of a vessel do you want?

The bridegroom's party answer him: As for us, Sir, we only want a vessel with a fissured bottom. The headman then says: Sir, there are no such vessels. You are buying and trading, what kind of vessel are you wanting? Do you want a diamond or a pearl? The bridegroom's party answer: We are wanting a diamond; but to-day the market is closed; we wonder at what market we shall get it. The village headman asks them: Do you wish the market after three days or the market after five days? The bridegroom's party answer: As for us, Sir, we know nothing of markets; we have taken hold of you, you will buy for us at any market. The headman says to them: Waiting get, watching get. They answer him: Well, we are here fasting, thirsting. The headman then says: The market is also closed, nothing is to be had; as is seen, you came too late; how did you come too late? The bridegroom's party answer: What shall we do, Sir headman? As we were coming along an uncastrated bullock was calving through the mouth[40], him we were looking at; there we became belated; we moved away from there; then we again caught sight of something, wild bees honey in the crook of a crab grass, where they have made honey[41]; we were looking at it there. When we moved away from there, then as we were coming along, we again caught sight of one thing, a black-plum tree[42] with ripe fruits; we threw a dove-tail axe[43] at it; twelve measures of black plums fell down; then we went to pick up the axe; this axe had fallen down on the head of a certain deer, so that we found it killed thereby. Then with what shall we bind it? They went to pull out some sun-grass[44]. When they were pulling out the sun-grass, they fell with their posteriors down on and killed twelve small baskets full of bush-quails. This is what we were looking at and thereby were belated.

Thereupon as we were walking along, there was a Blue-jay dancing the Jaṭur dance[45] in the road; we were looking at it; in this way we were belated. Thereupon there was a king-crow that was watching seven fires; we were looking at him; in this way we were belated.

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[40] Said to be fig., about clothes being taken out of a vessel in which they were boiled. [41] Some Santals explain this as referring to a pot of beer, others say it refers to impregnation. [42] Diospyros Embryopteris, Lam. [43] The smallest kind of axe, only used for cutting branches and small bushes. [44] Imperata arundinacea, Cyr. [45] Danced by men alone. It is said here to be a reference to the weaving of cloth, which is man's work among the Santals.

[286]

Now the bride's people ask them: Well, Sir, you are coming from so far away, which headman, which deputy is buying, is trading? At this time they sing:[46] 585 [539]

Tell us, tell us, brother,
Tell us your sept.
We don't know the sept, we don't know the tribe,
We do not know your sept.

The bridegroom's party answer: As for us, Sir, when they were talking of sept and tribe, we had gone to herd the goats, — yes, well then, we shall listen. The corporal is such and such a man (naming the sept of the young man's father), and the agent is such and such a man (naming the sept of the young man's mother). Now the bride's people ask: Well, Sir, how many flocks of bullocks have you broken in (to carry loads)? The bridegroom's party ask each other, how many brothers they are, viz., of the bridegroom, and they say to the bride's people: As for us, Sir, we have broken in three flocks (or if there are more brothers they tell so many). The bride's people then ask: How many bent sticks and mortars have we? The bridegroom's party answer: Sir, the mortars are so many. (They tell how many girls there are.) The bride's people then say: Sir, at which watering place[47] did you drink water? The father of the bridegroom answers them: Sir, we have drunk water at such and such a watering place. The bride's people again ask: Well, Sir, what are you trading in? The bridegroom's party answer them: As for us, Sir, we are trading in diamonds and pearls[48]. The bride's people say: The market is closed now, it is very far away, waiting get, watching get.

The bridegroom's party then answer: Yes, then we shall get it waiting, watching. The bride's people say: Take hold of the village headman, he will buy for you. What have you brought? Mustard or Sesame?[49] The bridegroom's party answer: We, Sir, have brought mustard. The bride's people then say: In our country, Sir, the mustard is very cheap, and the diamonds are very dear; only if you are able to buy it, only in that case will the headman procure it for you. There are both scales and jeweller's scales, there are both 88 grade weights and 80 grade weights; which do you like? The bridegroom's party answer: We, Sir, we will take it by the headman's balance, whatever will be shown as the proper full weight; we are satisfied with the diamond, we shall buy this one. Then they sing: [539]

On the rock at the tank bank
The traders have camped;
You know, Father, there
They are melting gold;

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[46] In a kind of Bihari. [47] A figurative reference to a son's marriage. [48] Diamond, fig. for a girl; pearl, fig. for a young man. [49] Again fig. speech. Mustard, tuṛi, Brassica campestris, L., stands for a boy or bridegroom, and Sesame, tilmiṅ, Sesamum indicum, L., stands for a girl sought in marriage.

[5] Gale Str. Mus. — Bedding.

• 585 [539]

P. O. BODDING

You know, Father, there
They are casting wristlets;
You know, Father, there
Are those who buy and trade in diamonds and pearls.

The bride's people then say: Sirs, you have taken hold of the village headman to buy for you; in connexion with this something more is to be paid; you must pay this. The bridegroom's party say: How much will have to be paid, Sir? It is said, one four-anna bit, four annas are to be paid. The bridegroom's party answer: What shall we do then? if it has to be paid, shall we not give it, Sir? The Jog Mañjhi then says to them: Out with it then. They now give into the Jog Mañjhi's hand one rupee, the marriage-shed fee for the village headman. The Jog Mañjhi receives this rupee and salutes the village people, and as he salutes, he says: This is the rupee to snap the foot-rope of the bed of the father's younger brother[58]. After this he also salutes the bridegroom's party all round. The poured-out beer and the squeezed-out beer of the bridegroom's party and the beer that the headman brought out, they have drunk up while they have been talking. Of the poured-out beer the village headman got two leaf-cups.

Now the village headman on the bride's side says: So far as this place is concerned, I presume we have done all well or how? The bridegroom's party answer: Yes, we are likely to have done it well. The Jog Mañjhi stands up and says: Our so and so headman, Sir! (he addresses the village headman of the bridegroom's side by name) Come, we shall stretch the end of our spine a little. All there then stand up, and the bridegroom's party salute all the village people there, one after the other, commencing from the headman, and then go to their lodgings.

Now the Jog Mañjhi calls out to three men among these: Honoured bridegroom's party, please come along with me some three men of you. He takes them into the house of the village headman. They sit down there, and they give them each two leaf-cups of beer, good beer. They drink this; thereupon they give them what is customary right: One pot of beer, a full one, twelve seers of rice, one solid brass arm-ring, one four-leaves-cup full of split peas, some three branches of the root of turmeric, tobacco, and salt. Of this rice the Jog Mañjhi measures out again for himself one seer. Thereupon these three men also go to their lodgings, taking all these things with them.

Now the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's people: Come, we shall gather the people of the village, we shall have the waving ceremony. He then sends the Goḍet to call the village people together. He himself, keeping a loṭa with water on a leaf-plate on the palm of his hand, goes to the bridegroom's party and says to them: Come along,

[604] [593]

[58] The father's younger brother is fig. for the village headman. The whole expression is said to imply that the last tie by which the bride is bound to her parental home is broken.

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we shall see the waving ceremony. They make themselves ready and take with them one pot of squeezed-out-beer and one small pot of poured-out beer. This they call "Pounding-still"[51]. Two men carry this along to the bride's home. When the bridegroom's party arrive there, they spread out straw for them to sit on in the temporary shed. The headman of the bride's side says to the bridegroom's party: Please sit down here; we shall see the performance of the waving ceremony[52]. They sit down. 585

Now the Jog Mañjhi on the bride's side says: Please find the anointing girls and grind some turmeric; we shall anoint the bride and the bridegroom. The anointing girls anoint the bride and the bridegroom and those with them. Thereupon they give them food. At this time the bridegroom will not eat, and when they ask him, he will not speak. The bride's father then says to him: Do, my son-in-law, eat both of you, I shall give you both milk[53] to eat. And as he promises to give him a calf, he eats. When they have eaten, they get up. The anointing girls roll up the mat, and in the hem-end of their cloths they take the broken bits of turmeric. Now the conductress of ceremonies takes the lota with water and goes out into the courtyard; when she has gone out, they see that no figures are drawn at the Mahua post. The Jog Mañjhi then says to her: Please smear cow-dung there and draw figures with flour. She answers him: Give me something, then only I shall draw. The Jog Mañjhi says to the bridegroom's party: Please, honoured bridegroom's party, no drawing is being made here, as you see. They answer him: How is it that no drawing is being made; do exert yourself to make her draw. He answers them: I am exerting myself; it is not proper. They then say: Make her willing, we shall give (what is needed).

Thereupon the conductress of ceremonies plasters with cow-dung and draws figures, so that it may look nice. The Jog Mañjhi says to her: Now please, take the lota with water and lead the bride and the bridegroom three times round where drawings have been made. She does this; then the Jog Mañjhi says to the girls who are keeping the mats: Do spread the mat out on this drawing. They do this, and the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride and the bridegroom, the best-man, the two followers and the conductress: Please sit down on the mat. They sit down, and the Jog Mañjhi goes into the house and says to the bride's mother: Take out the lucky-pot[54]. The bride's mother and her followers, i. e., the wives of three brothers, take out the lucky-pot; and they also take with them one seer of paddy in a fold of their cloth; in front of the bride and the bridegroom they take the paddy out from the cloth-fold and put it down there, and thereupon they put the pot down on the top of the paddy. They put an earthenware lid on the mouth of the narrow-necked pot. After this they [532]

[51] The translation is only an attempt. The word rendered as "still" (bhaṭi, a Hindi word) is the name of the oven or kiln used by Hindu when brewing beer or distilling liquor, and is by Santals mostly used for, about liquor. [52] Different from the previously mentioned ceremony, in as much as the waving is ended by giving a present; cf. Dictionary s.v. cumaoya. [53] Fig. about the gift of a calf (heifer). [54] Kolams here name the word that is the common one in Mayurbhanj (kaṛwā ṭhiṭi) and one in the Santal Parganas, where oggua ṭhiṭi, clean pot, is mostly heard. [192] [273]

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•585 bring oil and pour this out on the lid. The mother of the bride twists a wick, and this they kindle.

Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's father: Please bring us beer. He brings out the "Founding-still" beer. The Jog Mañjhi then sets one young man of the bridegroom's party and one young man of the bride's people to serve out beer a second time. He gives these two young men leaf-cups, about two baskets full. The young man of the bridegroom's party gives the people of the bride's side the beer of the bridegroom's party, and the young man of the bride's side gives the beer of the bride's people to the bridegroom's party, both commencing with the village headman of each side.

The Jog Mañjhi then goes into the house and says to the mother of the bride: Please perform the waving ceremony; we have started drinking the beer. The wives of the brothers then come out, and the women of the village are standing at the door. Now they commence the waving ceremony. The bride's mother is the first to do it. In a flat basket she has put sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, dhubi grass, one pair of men's wristlets and a solid brass necklet. This basket she waves three times round over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom. Thereupon she takes a little paddy, rice, and dhubi grass in her hand and waves it over them and then throws it down behind their backs. She then sits down [30] in front of the bride and the bridegroom. First she puts one pair of wristlets on both the bridegroom's wrists, and puts one brass necklet on the bride's neck. Thereupon she salutes them, and they also both make their obeisance to her. Thereupon the two sisters-in-law of the mother also act in the same way; but they don't put any ornament on the bridegroom; instead of this they give him money. Thereupon the village headman's wife, his deputy's wife, and all the women of the village put ornaments on the bride or instead of this give her money, and the bridegroom they give money. The younger sister of the bride next washes the feet of the bride and the bridegroom, and she catches hold of the bridegroom's leg. The bridegroom then gives her one anna. Now they make the bride and the bridegroom stand up, they both go into the house, and the Jog Mañjhi gives the money into the charge of the bridegroom's father, after having counted it.

Now the bride's father, the village headman, and the Jog Mañjhi also all go inside. The village headman asks the bride's father: Look here, how much beer is there? The bride's father answers: There will be enough for the bridegroom's party. The village headman then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please go and find out the wishes of the bridegroom's party; the bride says, I will give my father and his ones water. The Jog Mañjhi goes out and tells this to the bridegroom's party. They answer him: If there is any water, please bring us some, we shall drink. The Jog Mañjhi again goes inside and brings the bride and the anointing girls out. Thereupon he brings out one pot of poured-out beer and says to the anointing girls: Do bring one lota with water. They do this, and he conducts the bride and the anointing girls to the bridegroom's party. The bride then puts

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the loṭa with water down near the village headman of the bridegroom's party. The headman takes the loṭa with water and rinses his mouth. The Jog Mahjhi then hands to the bride a brass-cup with poured-out beer, and she gives this to the headman. He receives and drinks it. Thereupon he takes hold of the bride's upper arm with his left hand and makes her sit down on his thigh; he puts a wristlet on her and kisses her. The bride moves away, and turning round she salutes the headman. 585 •

From there the bride goes to the headman's deputy, who also acts in the same way. From him she goes to her bridegroom's father and from him to her bridegroom's uncles, who also all act in the same way. Afterwards she goes to all of the bridegroom's party; these do not put any wristlets or ornaments on her; they give her money. Now they break up the meeting; the bride goes inside the house, and the bridegroom's party go to their lodgings.

The Jog Mahjhi now asks the bride's parents: How is it, is the rice and curry ready or not as yet? They answer him: We have made all ready; do send for the bridegroom's party to come and eat the feast. The Jog Mahjhi then says to the Godet: You call and bring all our village people, also the poor ones, to partake of the feast; I shall send for and bring the bridegroom's party. They both do this. They have brought water out in the village street outside the house; all wash their hands. The village headman says to them: Come along, we shall sit down in the shed. They go in and sit down. The Jog Mahjhi sets the young men of the village to work, some bring out the rice, some the curry, some leaf-plates, and some leaf-cups; in front of the village headman and his deputy they first put down leaf-plates and leaf-cups, and afterwards in front of all of the bridegroom's party and the men of the village. Thereupon they give them rice and curry, one after the other, commencing from the headman.

Now the village headman says: So and so our headman, Sir, in olden times, they say: Rich people dry paddy and husks; as for us, Sir, I presume we are drying people, this especially make mention of to us. The bridegroom's party then answer: Quite so, Sir; do they not say: we say we shall eat, that is so; very much is required in connexion with this, there is water, leaves, firewood, straw-pins, whatever it is all called, only when all these things are brought near, then only we shall be able to get food. Those who speak of this have gone in advance to Somse's narrow valley, to the Kere pool, to the fine sand to herd crocodiles have they gone. Thereupon they eat; if they give the village people two helpings of food, they give the bridegroom's party three helpings. When they have eaten, they separate, that is to say, the men. Thereupon the women of the village eat. When they have had food, they also separate. The bridegroom stays in the bride's home from the time when the sindur was applied.

Thereupon the Jog Mahjhi calls some of the bridegroom's party to eat the present-food. They come, one man for each rupee of the brideprice. When they have come, they wash

• 585 their feet, take them into the house and first give them two leaf-cups of beer each. Thereupon they give them rice and curry, as much as they are able to eat. This they call present-food, in exchange for the goat to be sacrificed and the other things that the bridegroom's party have given. When they have eaten, they go to their lodgings.

Now the Jog Maṅjhi brings the bridegroom's father and a couple of elderly men among the bridegroom's party to drink the "rafter counting"[35] beer. They take them into the house, and the two co-parents-in-law find a place beside each other, and they give them both beer at the same time. They salute each other and drink. Thereafter they give to all.

[539] Now they sing[36]:

Look at the posts, look at the posts, my co-parent-in-law,
Look at the posts from the lucky forest.

Look at the roof-beams, look at the roof-beams, my co-parent-in-law,
Look at the roof-beams from the lucky forest.

Look at the rafters, look at the rafters, my co-parent-in-law,
Look at the rafters from the lucky forest.

Look at the wattle, look at the wattle, my co-parent-in-law,
Look at the wattle from the lucky forest.

Look at the thatching grass, look at the thatching grass, my co-parent-in-law,
Look at the thatching grass from the lucky forest.

Under the laths on the rafters
Who are the people sitting?
Who are the persons resting there?

Under the laths on the rafters
So and so persons are sitting,
So and so persons are deliberating.

Young father-in-law, big father-in-law,
We shall rejoice, we shall play together,
So long as life lasts, father-in-law.
The king of the netherworld will soon call out.

They finish the beer, and they also stop singing; they go to their lodgings, that is, the bridegroom's party go.

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[35] See Dictionary s. v. sonar lokha hoṇḍi. [36] All the verses are in a kind of Bihari.

Those among the bridegroom's party who wish now go to the young people of the village and dance with them under the marriage-shed the whole night; they drum the dancing-drum and sing a good deal. The old men of the bridegroom's side say to the young men of their party, before they go to dance: Dance, young fellows, just dance, but don't touch anything; they impose fines. People who go in a bridegroom's party cannot flirt with the girls of the bride's village; if they do, they punish them very severely. On the other hand even if a young man of the bride's people flirt with the girls of the bridegroom's village, they do not make much of this. 585 [535] [534]

The next morning the Jog Mañjhi goes to the lodgings of the bridegroom's party and asks them: How is it, honoured bridegroom's party, have you had your midday-meal or not? They answer him: A while ago we have had our meal and been strengthened, and your portion we have kept for you; please be quick and send us off. They then give into his charge the big and the small earthenware pots and his five portions of food. Thereupon the bridegroom's party at once send some forerunners off in advance to their home. The Jog Mañjhi then conducts the bridegroom's party to the bride's home. The bridegroom's party dance in the street outside the bride's home.

The Jog Mañjhi thereupon goes in and says to the bride's parents: Please anoint the bride and the bridegroom with oil and turmeric; find me five young men to follow the bride, and one elderly duenna. The anointing girls anoint the bride and the bridegroom; they bring the followers of the bride and the old duenna. Then the Jog Mañjhi says: Well, let them eat and strengthen themselves. Thereupon they give the bride and the bridegroom and the bride's male followers and the old duenna food, and they eat.

Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi says to all these: Well, make yourselves ready, I shall bring the bride and the bridegroom out. While they are making themselves ready, the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's parents: Please get me one wooden pestle, having covered the ferrule with leaves. They bring him this, and he gives it into the charge of the bride's brother. Now the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's mother: Please arrange molasses and water in lotas and brass-cups and find a mat. The bride's mother answers him: We are all ready. Saying this she puts about one seer of paddy into a fold of the bride's cloth. The Jog Mañjhi then says: Why, where is the beer for the Mañjhi haram? They hand him this in a small pot with a cover. Taking this in his hand he says to them all: Come along, let us go out. While they are going out, the bride turns round and shakes the paddy that was put in a fold of her cloth out in the door-opening of the house, salutes it and goes away. Thereupon they go to the Mañjhi than. The bridegroom's party also go there together with the others.

The bridegroom's party are dancing, and the Jog Mañjhi pours out the beer as a libation to the dead Mañjhi haram. As he makes the libation to him, he makes an invocation: As is seen here, Mañjhi haram, I give thee, hand thee this for the sake of good-bye being [782]

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585 [782] said to the bride and the bridegroom. When going in the forest may there be no tripping, no stumbling, no widows, no women of ill omen; spells or enchantments may not be thrown on, may not hit them; on the road, in the forest may no stomach-ache, no headache arise, come into being; — before the year turns round also for these two, for the bride and the bridegroom may we old men cover leaf-cups below the bedstead: Thou going first, we going after thee, may the bride's and the bridegroom's parties, the bride's brothers reach there in good order. Thereupon all there, the bride's people and the bridegroom's party go to the cross-road at the end of the village street.

At the cross-road they spread a mat and make the bride's mother sit down on it. They then first bring the bridegroom and make him sit down on the thigh of his mother-in-law. She washes his mouth; thereupon she three times puts molasses into his mouth, and he eats it. Now the bride's mother takes the lota with water in her hand; she washes the bridegroom's mouth and then kisses him. Thereupon he gets off, and they bring the bride. Her also she treats in the same way. After this the two wives of the brothers of the bride's father also treat the bride and the bridegroom in the same way.

Thereupon the people of the bride's village stand in rows, on one side the men and on the other side the women. The bride's mother then says to the bridal pair: Do salute them, one after the other, commencing from the village headman. They do this, the bride with the anointing girls first, and the bridegroom with his best-man and his follower after them. They salute all the men and women. After this the bridegroom's party salute all the people of the bride's village, one after the other, commencing from the village headman. [539] Then they sing[57]:

Start, dearie, go, dearie
To your own house, dearie,
The swinging chair, dearie, is very heavy.

In the Tilai tree (Wendlandia tinctoria, DC.) plain, dearie,
I have tied, dearie, the horse.
The swinging chair, dearie, is very heavy.

In the deserted village
Sugar-cane was planted.
How sweet is that sugar-cane?

We do not know whether it is bitter,
We do not know whether it is sweet,
We do not know, how it is.

[57] All the verses are in corrupt Bihari.

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[539]

So and so people will know,
The village brothers will know,
The people of the country will know.

Thereupon the Jog Mąńjhi asks the bridegroom's party for the customary dues: For finishing the painting two annas, for fireplace damages two annas, and as a "shepherding" fee one pice. The painting fee the conducting girl gets, she who made the drawings at the marriage-shed post, and the fireplace damages those get who cooked the feast-food, and the "shepherding" pice the Jog Mąńjhi gets.

Thereupon the Jog Mąńjhi calls out to the bridegroom's party: Come, we shall have a little talk together. He takes aside the elderly men, and they sit down in rows beside each other. The Jog Mąńjhi then calls the village people. Of these he also takes out the elderly men, who sit down opposite to the bridegroom's party facing them.

Now the village headman of the bride's side commences to talk: Honoured bridegroom's party, there is one matter about which I shall talk: During the hunt or the chase, when there is distress and danger, there is not promise — well then, having had good omens, a bullock on the right-hand side, a woodpecker on the left-hand side, we have tied together, joined together the bonds; now then the Day-spirit, the Five mountain spirits, the ancestors of old sitting together, we have joined the bonds; the house of the bride's side the bridegroom has got, and the house of the bridegroom's side the bride has got; it has become an exchange of houses. Now you may happen to wander hunting and chasing, you may happen to go to market or some such thing, you may wander to villages and hamlets, well then, up to this time, due to lack of knowledge, you drank water from hollowed out cavities in rivers and from pools; now as is seen here, we have bought houses, from to-day then do not pass to the right or to the left; in the house there is a cup of water and shadow in a cowshed, please come to this. From twelve kilns you have selected a vessel; having tapped it and found it sound you bought it: Then if it is lazy, if it is slothful, if it is irregular and knotty, if it comes to grief, if it is lost, it is not our responsibility; — if it becomes tin, if it becomes copper, if it becomes a strumpet, a harlot, if it becomes a drug, a witch, it will be your look-out; as the quality of the house is, the people develop, as the quality of the cow-shed is, the cattle develop, — we have also taken the brideprice without giving anything in return, the bullock for the bride's brother, the cloths for the grandmothers, the cloth for the mother of the bride, these also we have received without giving anything in return: both bones and ashes have we sold. Head-blood, ear-blood, this we have not sold, this we shall follow up. Well then, if one full day or half-a-day the rice is burnt, or the curry is burnt, may you suffer it, may you endure it; if by exhorting and tutoring it will not get well, then so and so headman, please send us a man; if no man is to be had, please send us a crooked stick; and if a stick is not to be found either, please send us a dog; we shall take counsel together.

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585 Now the village headman on the bridegroom's side says in return: This is true, Sir, this is not something done by us alone, the Day-spirit, the Five mountain spirits, the ancestors of old sitting together, having had good omens, a bullock on the right-hand side, a woodpecker on the left-hand side, we have joined the bonds, — it is true, we selected from twelve kilns, having tapped and sounded we bought the thing. We have removed your tame parrot from your stand to our stand: consequently if it becomes tin or copper, the person is our one; if it becomes lazy or slothful, it is our look-out; if it comes to grief, if it is lost, it is our look-out; if it becomes ditches and holes, it is our look-out; if it becomes a strumpet, a harlot, a drug or a witch, it is our look-out; if it becomes a thief, a stealer, it is our look-out; — both bones and ashes have we bought to-day. Head-blood, ear-blood we have not bought, this you can follow up. Yes, if then one day, half-a-day the rice is burnt, the curry is burnt, shall we not instruct and tutor her? And if she will not be instructed and tutored, we shall send you word and consult together.

Well then as for you also, when you somehow or other go in our direction, you also don't pass on the right or the left side of us; when you wander about hunting or chasing, to villages and hamlets, you men and male ones, don't pass on the right or the left side. Up to this time due to lack of knowledge you drank water from hollowed out cavities in rivers and pools. From to-day leave this, give this up. The shade of a pole with creepers on, water in a gourd-bottle, please come straight along to this. The house here is ours and the house there is yours.

Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi takes hold of the bride's hand and takes her to the headman of the bridegroom's village and says to him: This person, Father, I am giving over to you. The village headman answers: Yes, Father, we have received her. Thereupon the bridegroom's party start to go home, taking the bride with them. At this moment the Jog Mañjhi calls out to them: Wait, bridegroom's party, stop at once, you are forgetting to take the battle-axe. Then he hands them a goat's shoulder. Together with the bridegroom's party five brothers of the bride and one duenna go to the bridegroom's home. The duenna takes a mat along, carrying it in her armpit. The bridegroom's party are off, and the people on the bride's side return to their homes.

The goat given by the bridegroom they fell; they divide the raw meat in three parts. One part and the head the bride's father gets, and two parts the village people make into a hash and eat. And they drink the presented beer. They take up the Mahua post in the marriage-shed, and they take out the sun-dried rice, the raw turmeric, the dhubi grass, and the cowries that had been buried there. They loosen these things and look how they [787] have developed. If the turmeric and sun-dried rice have sprouted, the bride and the bridegroom are very fortunate. Afterwards the young people of the village get one flat basket full of cooked rice, one pot of curry, and one pot of beer. This they call dew beer, dew rice.

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The Jog Mañjhi then gives the anointing girls into their parents' charge, each with one portion food. And then all go to their respective homes. 585 •

Now the bridegroom's party reach their own village. The marriage-broker makes them stop at the entrance to the village street, and himself goes in advance to the bridegroom's home. He says to them: The bride and the bridegroom have come; come along, we shall meet them with water. The bridegroom's father then brings the headman and his deputy, the Jog Mañjhi and his deputy, and the Godet of the bridegroom's village to his house and gives them two leaf-cups of beer each and says: Listen, headman, come along, the bridal pair has arrived; we shall meet them with water. The headman then says: Well then, Jog Mañjhi, call the young people of the village. The Jog Mañjhi sends the Godet and has them brought. The village headman says to the bridegroom's father: Please have ready one pot of beer in the house. Thereupon the village headman says to the Jog Mañjhi: Do give these young men two leaf-cups of beer each. The bridegroom's father libates a little beer, and the Jog Mañjhi gives some to the young men.

The headman then says to the young men: Take your cloths tightly round your loins and get hold of one pair of dancing drums. He says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please get water in a vessel and one loṭa. When they have got these things, he says to them: Come along, we shall bring the bride and the bridegroom, the bride's brothers, all of them. Then the young girls and men all go to the bride and the bridegroom at the entrance to the village street. The Jog Mañjhi gives the loṭa with water to the bride's brothers and after them to the duenna.

Now the bridegroom's mother washes the feet of the bridegroom, the bride, the bride's brothers, and the duenna and gives them molasses and water into their mouths. While this is going on, the women and girls of the village abuse the bride singing. In the same way as the bride's people met the bridegroom with abusive songs, just the same songs, only the name is changed. At this moment the Jog Mañjhi says to the girls: Please take the bride and the bridegroom on your hips. Carrying them along they put them down at every house, and the women of each house wash their feet and put molasses with water into their mouths. When they reach the house of the village headman, the bride and the bridegroom, the bride's brothers, and the duenna make their bow to the dead Mañjhi haram at the Mañjhi than. And the women of the house wash their feet and give them molasses with water into their mouths. Last of all they reach the home of the bridegroom and stop outside in the street. The best-man's wife ties the ends of the bride's and the bridegroom's clothes together. Now the bridegroom's mother on a brass-plate arranges sun-dried rice, sun-dried paddy, dhubi grass, three balls of flour, and three balls of cow-dung, in one large leaf-cup turmeric, in one large leaf-cup oil, one iron wristlet, sindur, and a comb, and she takes this outside into the street. With this brass-plate she performs the waving [769]

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585 ceremony over the bride and the bridegroom and party three times. Thereupon she puts the brass-plate down, and keeping together in her hands a little d h u b i grass, sun-dried rice, and sun-dried paddy she performs the waving ceremony three times over the bride and the bridegroom and party; thereupon she throws it down behind the back of the bridal pair.

Now she smears the turmeric water that she has put in a leaf-cup, mixed into a soft mass, on the bridegroom's cheek, and he also does the same to her. Thereupon the bridegroom's mother smears turmeric also on the bride's cheek, and she also does the same to her mother-in-law. Next the bridegroom's mother smears oil on the head of the bride and combs her a little, and she applies sindur to her; and she also smears oil on her mother-in-law and combs her a little and in her turn applies sindur to her. At this moment the bridegroom's mother puts an iron wristlet on the bride's left arm, and the flour-balls and cow-dung balls she at once throws away in three directions. Thereupon the wives of the bridegroom's father's elder and younger brothers also do the same.

Now the bridegroom's mother says to the marriage-broker: Give me the wooden pestle. He asks the bride's brother for this and hands it to the mother of the bridegroom. This they call the "gift pestle". Now the anointing girls on an earthenware lid bring glowing embers out from the house to the entrance door from the street. Now the three wives of the three brothers (first the mother of the bridegroom) take the wooden pestle in their left hands, wave it over the glowing embers on the lid and salute it with their right hands; thereupon they take the pestle in their right hands and wave it and make the salute with their left hands; again they once take the pestle in their left hands, wave it and make the salute with their right hands. She who was the last one to perform the waving ceremony stabs the glowing embers on the lid with the pestle, breaking them up, and the pestle she takes away and into the house. This act they call the purifying ceremony in bringing the bride and the bridegroom in.

Then they bring the bride and the bridegroom to the house-door; here they wash their feet over a brass-plate. Thereupon they are going to take them into the house; then a younger sister of the bridegroom shuts the door against them. Now they sing:

[539]

If you have strength, you so and so,
If you have maturity, you so and so,
Open, you so and so, the stone door.

If you have strength, you so and so,
If you have maturity, you so and so,
Open a little, you so and so, the stone door.

This they call the song of the closed door. The bride then gives her sister-in-law one anna, and she opens the door for them. They go inside, and the anointing girls spread

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out mats for them. The bride and bridegroom sit down there and with them the best-man, the follower, the girl conductor, and the duenna also. The anointing girls smear oil and turmeric on them. While they are doing this they sing[39]: 585 [539]

For whom, Father, is the elephant saddled?
For whom, Father, is the Maena-like queen?

For the young prince is the elephant saddled,
For the young prince is the Maena-like queen.

You went to the East, my boy, you came from the West;
Where, my boy, did you find, my boy, the Kiṣ flower?

On the other side of seven seas, at the way down to the Ganges river
Father bought the Kiṣ flower.

Now the anointing girls apply sindur to the bride and the bridegroom and their party, all who are sitting there; after having done this they wash their hands. Now they give the bride and the bridegroom rice cooked in milk, and to the others they give rice and curry. At this time the younger sister of the bridegroom forcibly takes rice from the bride; she puts one handful into the bride's mouth; thereupon they both eat their food together. When they have eaten, the anointing girls wash the hands of all. They go out gradually; the bridegroom stays with the brothers of the bride, and the bride with her duenna. [262] [607]

The Jog Mañjhi then calls the bride's brothers. Two boys of the village wash their feet; thereupon the anointing girls pour out water for them. They wash their hands, and the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's brothers: Come along into the house, we shall have some gruel. They go inside; they spread out mats for them, and they sit down. First they give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. They drink this; thereupon the bridegroom's mother herself gives the brothers of the bride food; she makes them eat plentifully to make them pleased. Again the Jog Mañjhi says: Please bring the beer. Again they drink, each two leaf-cups of beer, of the very best. The two boys wash them. Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi takes them to a house open for all. When they have gone there, the Jog Mañjhi calls the bridegroom's party. When they come, they give them beer and food. This they call "dust removing food and beer". All lie down to sleep.

When day dawns the bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please remember the bride's brothers, have they got up or not? The Jog Mañjhi answers: They are up. Then the father of the bridegroom, the bride's brothers, the bride and the bridegroom, the duenna,

[39] In a kind of Bihari.

• 585 and the village headman and a couple of the village people go to the cattle herd. And the father of the bridegroom points out a bull-calf to the brothers of the bride and says to them: This is yours, Sirs, look carefully at it, so as to remember it. The younger brother of the bride, or her elder brother, then slaps the calf on the back and salutes it; after this he bows before the village headman and all present. Now they sit down together, and the village headman says to the bride's brothers: In olden times, they say, standing on the top of a white-ant hill they yoked the bullocks of the bride's brother. As for us this one here is what we can furnish; let this especially be a grief to you. They answer: The grieving ones, Father, have gone in advance to Somae's narrow valley, they have gone in advance to the fine sand to herd crocodiles. The headman then says: Please, Sir, this we have cut off and separated, it may come to grief, it may stray, it may be lost, it may get away, it will be your look-out, please, drive it away with you. The brothers of the bride answer: Yes, Sir, let it remain a couple of days here in the meantime. After having saluted they go inside.

The Jog Mañjhi then says to the father of the bridegroom: Please give us oil and tooth-brush-twigs; we are going to have a bath. They give them this, and the Jog Mañjhi takes the brothers of the bride to the water. They have their bath, return and sit down. The Jog Mañjhi goes inside and says to those there: We have come; we are very hungry: do be quick. The anointing girls pour out water for the brothers of the bride, and they wash their hands. The Jog Mañjhi then takes these inside into the house and tells them to sit down on the mats, and they do so.

At this moment the Jog Mañjhi says: Please give each of us four leaf-cups of beer. This is done, and they drink it. The anointing girls wash their hands. They pluck up the leaf-cups and throw them away.

The bridegroom's mother now brings flattened and parched rice out in a flat basket. One of the anointing girls brings a loṭa with water. The mother of the bridegroom then says to the brothers of the bride: Take this, honoured brothers of the bride, wet the flattened and parched rice. They do this; one of the anointing girls with a small ladle pours molasses out to them, to one after the other. Thereafter they pour curds out to them.

Now the father of the bridegroom commences the recitation: Formerly, Sirs, the wealthy ones were spreading paddy and husks out on a bamboo mat; as you see, we are spreading out the bride's brother, to dry; be especially grieved for this. They say in reply: The grieving ones have gone in advance, Sir, to Somae's narrow valley; in the fine sand they are propping up booths and hovels. After this they eat. When they have had food, they give them beer in brass-cups. They wash themselves, and the father of the bridegroom says to the brothers of the bride: Now, Sirs, my daughter-in-law's brothers, take your leaf-plates with you; let the leaves be here. Then they go out.

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The Jog Mãjhi again goes into the house and says to the father of the bridegroom: What curry shall we give these friends? He answers: There is a castrated goat; we shall make curry of this for them. The Jog Mãjhi then calls a young man from the village. They give him one brass-cup of beer; he drinks this, and the Jog Mãjhi says to him: Look here, young man, tell all the village people, big and small: Come along, we shall make the bride's brothers pluck vegetables. The whole family, mother and children, all come and assemble in the bridegroom's home. The village people bring with them beer or rice as presents. 585

The Jog Mãjhi brings a loṭa with water out from the house and keeps it on a leaf-plate held on the palm of his hand, and one man seizes the castrated goat. The Jog Mãjhi then takes the loṭa with water to the village headman and his deputy, who salute it. Thereupon he takes it to the brothers of the bride, who also salute it. After this he takes it to the men of the village, who also salute the loṭa with water. And lastly he takes it to the women, who also in the same way salute it.

Now the Jog Mãjhi gets hold of a battle-axe and gives this to the brothers of the bride. Having tied the castrated goat with a cord he pours water on its head; thereupon he makes it eat of the rice on a leaf-plate. He then says to the brothers of the bride: Come, honoured brothers of the bride, pluck vegetables for us. They stand up, and one among them seizes the battle-axe and makes a feint with it at the castrated goat; thereupon he puts the battle-axe down. One of the men of the village then seizes the battle-axe and cuts and kills the animal. The brothers of the bride do not kill the castrated goat, because they say the marriage will then be broken. The Jog Mãjhi puts the head of the goat on the rice on the leaf-plate and takes it inside the house. He who, when the goat was cut, seized the pole, he smears the blood on some straw, and tying it to the pole he puts it down on the ground. Thereupon the father of the bridegroom pours some beer from the small vessel out as a libation where the goat was cut and killed. And in front of the bride-brother who made a feint at the goat, and the young man who seized the pole, he puts a leaf-cup down, having turned his hand upside, and he says to them: Please drink. They do this; thereupon he again gives them both one leaf-cup of beer each. [782]

The Jog Mãjhi then says to these two: Please salute each other; thereupon you will salute all here. They then salute each other like co-parents-in-law, and commencing from the village headman they salute all there. Now two young men from the village give all there two leaf-cups of poured-out beer and two leaf-cups of squeezed-out beer; when they have drunk, they keep quiet. The young people are dancing, and people who have work to do, work.

The father of the bridegroom then says to the village headman: Please, Sir, let us have the waving ceremony in good time. The headman then says to the Jog Mãjhi: Do call all the village people here; we shall see the waving ceremony. He sends the Godet to call

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585 the village people together. An elder sister of the bridegroom, or if there is no such one, then a younger sister, acts as conductress of ceremonies in the bridegroom's home. In the same way as they drew paintings at the marriage-shed post in the bride's home, so she also paints in the same way; but she does not finish painting, until the father of the bridegroom promises to give her a calf.

The anointing girls now take the bride and the bridegroom into the house and make them sit down on a mat, and together with them the best-man, his follower, the duenna, and the conductress of ceremonies sit down. The anointing girls anoint them with oil and turmeric; however, the mother of the bridegroom first anoints them; when she has made way for them, the anointing girls anoint them. When the anointing is finished, the conductress, i. e., the wife of the best-man, ties the ends of the clothes of the bride and the bridegroom together. Thereupon they give them all food. At this time the bride will not eat, and when they ask her, she does not speak. The father of the bridegroom then says [606] to her: Please eat, daughter-in-law, I shall give you a calf to get milk to eat. Then she eats. When they have had food, they get up.

Now the conductress, with a lota with water in her hand, conducts them out to the marriage-shed post. The duenna of the bride's side also is with them. Where they have made drawings, there they walk three times round, and the lady conductor also pours out the water in the lota all around over the place. The anointing girls now spread mats over the drawings; thereupon the bride and the bridegroom and their followers sit down on these. Then, as they acted when performing the waving ceremony in the bride's home, in the same way they also act in the bridegroom's home. All the women of the village give them, when performing the waving ceremony, wristlets, necklaces, rings, money. But the brothers of the bride do not give them anything. The brothers of the bride and all the village people drink beer during the waving ceremony. The beer is finished, and the waving ceremony is also ended. The younger sister of the bridegroom washes their feet, and at this time she catches hold of the bride's leg. The mother of the bridegroom then asks the duenna: How did you act at the bride's place? She says to her: We took one anna in money. The mother of the bridegroom then says: In that case let her loose. The duenna then gives her who has caught hold of the leg one anna, and she sets her free; thereupon the two salute each other. All stand up, and having gone round three times the bride and the bridegroom and their followers go inside the house.

The Jog Mañjhi then says: Come at once here, you the father of the bridegroom, here to the house. With a couple of men he goes inside. The mother of the bridegroom calls the wife of the village headman and a couple of women and takes them inside. Thereupon, looking at the money, the brass necklets, and the different things that fell down at the waving ceremony, they count them. They give all this over in charge to the mother of the bridegroom. And they who give it in charge get beer.

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Thereupon they start serving out the feast. As they acted in the bride's home in connexion with food, drink and recitations, in the same way they act also in the bridegroom's home. When they have had food and drink, those who wish it dance, and those who wish to lie down go to sleep. 585

When day dawns, the conductress boils the marriage clothes of the bride and the bridegroom, and when this is done, she dumps and washes them and brings them. They make the brothers of the bride and the duenna brush their teeth. When they have done this, they give them, the bride and the bridegroom included, stale food, flattened and parched rice. Afterwards they gather the village people to see the bride and the bridegroom being bathed and getting their hair washed. The wives of the village headman and of his deputy, of the Jǫg Mańjhi and of his deputy and of the Goḍet and of the village priest especially come. They then commence to bathe and wash the hair. They place before them two wooden slabs to sit on, one beside the other, and in one large leaf-cup they have made some hair-wash earth[18] wet. They have brought two tooth-brush twigs. They make the bride and the bridegroom sit down beside each other on the two wooden slabs. They make them sit facing the sun-rise. The bride sits on the right hand side of the bridegroom. The bridegroom then chews the tooth-brush twig; she, that is the conductress, gives this chewed twig to the bride, for her to brush her teeth. And the unused tooth-brush twig in the hand of the bride the conductress gives to the bridegroom. Now they both brush their teeth, and they wash their mouth and hands. [515]

The bridegroom then takes a little of the hair-wash earth up with his left hand and smears this on the head of the bride; and the bride washes the bridegroom's hair with the earth in the leaf-cup. Having washed his hair she washes and cleans him. Thereupon the conductress washes and cleans the bride. The bride next washes the bridegroom's feet and smears oil on his feet. Thereupon she bows to him, and then he moves away. The duenna, the brothers of the bride, and the village people look at this sitting. After this the bride washes the feet of the village priest, the field priest, the village headman and his deputy, the Jǫg Mańjhi and his deputy and the Goḍet, and after these she washes the feet of the bridegroom's father and maternal uncles and their ones. Thereupon she turns to the women, viz., to the wives of the village priest, of the field priest, of the village headman and of his deputy, of the Jǫg Mańjhi and of his deputy and of the Goḍet, and to the mother of the bridegroom and her ones and the sister of the bridegroom's father and her ones, she washes the feet of all these.

Thereupon she washes the feet of the bridegroom's elder brothers, the brothers-in-law and younger brothers of the bridegroom with their ones, and she catches hold of the leg of each one, until they give her a wristlet or the like or some money. They give and

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[18] The Santals use a soapy kind of earth for washing the hair

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585 save themselves. Thereupon she and they pour water on each other and salute each other. After this she sets in the same way also towards the elder and younger sisters of the bridegroom. These also have to give something; then only she sets them free. Thereupon she and they pour water on each other and salute each other. The conductress and the bride now wash each other's feet, and they catch hold of each other's legs. Both give each other something, and they salute each other. Thereupon they give them all beer, which they drink.

Now the principal people and the brothers of the bride, the bride and the bridegroom, and the duenna all go inside the house. What fell to the bride they count and give in charge to the mother of the bridegroom. They now drink beer handed to them by the bride and the bridegroom, and they get food.

When they have had food, the village headman gives them a recitation; the bride and the bridegroom sit in front of him, facing him. He says: You bride, this here is your house and home; here are your big and small vessels; from to-day look well after what is yours; these two are your mother and father; give them what they may ask you for, and listen to them in whatever they may put you to do; this one here is your husband; when there is night, is darkness, stomach-ache, headache, tell your mother and father, and if these two do not do what you wish, tell your husband, saying, come and help me. Do not go out alone in night and darkness.

Thereupon the village headman says to the parents: This daughter-in-law has not come of her own accord; we have ourselves bought and brought her, she is a stranger here, — from to-day instruct and tutor her well and carefully; guide her in a nice way.

The village headman then says to the bridegroom: You also, young man, from to-day you will go hunting and chasing, or you will wander in the forest, you will find something or other; if you find a hollowed ebony fruit, a hollowed tarop fruit[80], resin, marking nuts[81], don't eat it alone, eat a piece, bring half a piece to your wife; — or if you kill a bird or something of that kind, eat one slice, take half a slice in a fold of your cloth along to your wife. And now, young man, up to this time in connexion with attending religious or social festivals, wherever you were at night-fall there you were at dawn, so look now, from to-day we have hung a poprǫ bell on you; consequently where you two have your place, when it is time for lying down, come and find her there and lie down both of you. You also, bride, from to-day the young man may go somewhere or other; then when he comes from anywhere give him at once water and a tooth-brush twig; when you go with companions to draw water, to fetch leaves, don't talk and laugh with anybody else; this one is your man, don't look elsewhere.

The bride then answers: Yes, father, getting good omens, a bullock on the right-hand side, a woodpecker on the left-hand side, you joined the bonds; now, as is seen, you, the

[80] Buchanania latifolia, Roxb. [81] Semecarpus Anacardium, L.

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people of the community, have planted me: these two here are my mother and my father in righteousness, and this one here is my righteous mate: he may come tired and hungry from anywhere; as soon as I see him, I shall pour out water and meet him with it; and my mother and father may come from anywhere tired and hungry, for them also I shall pour out water and meet them; if I do not act in this way, you, the people of the community, will blame me. 585 •

Now the village headman speaks jokingly, saying: The bride is exceedingly good; the way in which she has given us rice and curry and beer, this we have all seen; we have had food and drink; we believe it.

Now the father of the bridegroom gives the marriage-broker and the best-man their dues. The marriage-broker gets a loin-cloth, five cubits long and one four-anna bit and one anna for sandal-wear, and the best-man gets a loin-cloth, five cubits long. They now go out into the court-yard.

The Jog Mañjhi enters the house and says to the mother of the bridegroom: Please give me oil and a comb. They procure this for him. They then spread out a mat in the cow-shed; on this they make the brothers of the bride sit down. Three young men from the village rub them in with oil; thereupon they comb them and poke a good deal of fun at them. The women of the village also treat the duenna in the same way, and they apply any amount of sindur-spots on her. The anointing girls make tassels of straw and plaits of hemp. The young men of the village make the plaits into hairknots on the brothers of the bride and tie them tight with the tassels.

The Jog Mañjhi now brings a dancing-drum out into the court-yard. They drum and the oil-smearing young men take hold of the brothers of the bride to dance, and the women take hold of the duenna to dance. They are dancing and singing dōṇ songs: [539]

Please, bride, tell your brothers to wait for the midday meal,
Eating off, a spotted back he is leaving for you, mother.

A thieving dog slinking about,
A brother of the bride greedily licking.

Who, girls, who, girls, is the thieving dog?
Who, girls, who, girls, is the brother of the bride?

With a ladle girls, beat the thieving dog,
With a vessel, girls, cover up the brother of the bride.

The duenna, the diarrhoea covering,
Some one importuning,
Some one importuning, mother, girls, in the house below the hill.

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•585 [539]

The brother of the bride, shaved and cracked,
Some one importuning,
Some one importuning, mother, girls, in the house below the hill.

Thereupon they go out into the street outside the house. They fix five days to take the bride and bridegroom away and back again. Again they take the duenna into the house. They put down for her one seer rice, one seer flattened and parched rice and on the rice one wristlet; thereupon she goes out into the street outside. The Jog Mañjhi now brings out for the brothers of the bride five half-seers parched and flattened rice; their sticks and different implements and the quarter joint he also brings out.

Now the brothers of the bride say to her: Please, girl, don't grieve; in five days we shall come back and take you both away. As for you, brew beer in the meantime, and make five seers of flattened rice in the meantime. After this the duenna instructs and tutors the bride before leaving: Please stay here, girl, this here is your home, this here is your door to go out and in through; work all of you, eat diligently. Do not long for us; this is your home for life; both bones and ashes have we sold you; for one leaf-cup have we sold you, also for half a leaf-cup have we sold you; therefore you would not fit in with us. Do not grieve; in five days we shall come again.

Thereupon the bride and bridegroom and the brothers of the bride and the duenna salute all the village people, commencing from the village headman. When this is done, the brothers of the bride and the duenna stand on one side, and the bride and bridegroom salute them, and these two go alone inside the house. The bridegroom then takes out one small packet of tobacco and one small packet lime, and the bride a loṭa with water. They go both to the brothers of the bride. The bride gives her own real brother the loṭa with water. He drinks and gives her the loṭa back. Thereupon the bridegroom gives him the lime and the tobacco; this he puts in his waist-cloth. Thereupon they go.

When they have gone, the young girls and men in the village take the marriage-shed down, and as they acted in the bride's home, in the same way they eat and drink "dew beer" and "dew rice". They get no presents. Afterwards they dance.

When it becomes time for drawing water, the bride goes together with a couple of the [312] village girls to draw water. She takes with her to the water-fetching place a little oil and sindur. There she makes five marks with oil and sindur downwards, and having drawn water she comes back with her companions. This they call to buy way down to water.

After five days the marriage-broker and two of the brothers of the bride come. After having saluted each other they "water" their feet, take them inside the house and give them beer. Afterwards they kill some fowls for them, and preparing rice and curry they give it to them. They lie down to sleep. When day dawns, they give them stale food, flattened and parched rice. For the midday meal they prepare rice and curry for them.

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They eat this. The mother-in-law then combs the bride and ties up her hair and applies sindur to her. The bridegroom they also make ready. For the bride they bring out one large pot of beer and five seers of flattened rice. The flattened rice she ties up in a cloth. Thereupon she salutes her parents-in-law; the two brothers of the bride and the marriage-broker also salute them. The bride takes the beer on her head, and the cloth-bundle with the flattened rice she carries under her armpit: there they then are off to the old home of the bride. When they reach there, they wash the feet of the two, the elder and younger sisters of the bride do this. Thereupon they take hold of the bridegroom's leg. They set him free when he gives them money or necklaces; thereupon they pour water on each other and salute each other. They take the two inside the house and give them food. 585

When it becomes evening, they call the village headman and his deputy and their ones and all the village people. When they have come, the bride and bridegroom salute them. First the father of the bride offers the beer and the flattened rice that they call brought-along gifts to the dead ancestors and to Marań buru. Then they bring out the beer and the flattened rice and give it to the village people, who eat and drink, dividing it between themselves. This beer they call 'umbilical cord burying beer'. The elderly men then talk together: Having got good omens, a bullock on the right-hand side, a woodpecker on the left-hand side, we have, as is seen here, joined the bonds, we have had a marriage — we have settled taking the bride and bridegroom away and bringing them back; beer and flattened rice we have also got sufficiently; in all respects it has been sufficient; please, you two, the bride's parents, let this especially be your grief. They both answer: Yes, Sir, they who grieve have gone in advance.

The bride and the bridegroom then stay there for two nights. The marriage-broker then says: I shall take them there. They make ready for them one pot of beer and five seers flattened rice. The girl carries this away on her head and under her armpit. After having saluted those there, they go together with the marriage-broker to the bridegroom's home. When they have arrived there, they call all the village people together. As they did with the beer and the flattened rice in the bride's old home, in the same way they also act in the bridegroom's home. They eat and drink, and here also they make formal recitations as in the bride's old home. Thereupon all go to their respective homes. Now the bride and bridegroom are settled for good.

g. Ṭuñki dipil[42] marriage.

This is the marriage of poor people. The bridegroom does not go to the home of the bride, only the marriage-broker and a bridegroom's party of five go there. They do not make a marriage-shed, and they do not put the bridegroom's party up in outside lodgings. 585 184

[42] See Dictionary s. v.

585 184 The customary dues are as in a marriage with parties; eating and drinking and beer are also in the same way. After having had food and drink the bridegroom's party bring the bride to the bridegroom's home. Three brothers of the bride and a duenna go along with the girl. For "finishing the painting" and for "fireplace damages" nothing has to be given. The applying of sindur is done in the house of the bridegroom. Here they also act as customary at a marriage with parties. In connexion with taking the pair away and back again it is also as in other marriages.

h. Ghạrdi jāwāe[63] (house son-in-law).

583 People who have no son, or whose sons are small and not fit to do any work, such people keep house sons-in-law, when they have grown up daughters; and only a poor man or an orphan will stay as a house son-in-law. House sons-in-law have no brideprice or expenses to pay, nor have they any customary dues to give; the expenses are all on the girl's side. The marriage is performed for them like for other people. They serve for the bride five years with their father-in-law. They do not get any wages, only food and clothes. When they take in a house son-in-law, they show him a calf. If before the five years are gone, the girl does not pull together with her husband, he goes away taking the calf with him. At the time when the two are married the father gives also the girl a calf. And for five years she gets her reaping perquisites, and this paddy she gives out on interest to somebody. When five years have passed, they will, if they are pleased, stay on, getting wages; if not, they leave.

[428] And if a girl's parents have no male children, and if the house son-in-law and his wife will take care of and feed the two (parents) until death, the two will get the house and household, all the agricultural and other land, and they will get half the cattle; the other half the brothers (or cousins) of the girl's father will get. The ghạrdi jāwāe and his wife have to bear the expenses in connexion with the final funeral ceremonies. If there are two or three house sons-in-law, they divide.

i. The marriage of widowers, widows, and divorced ones.

587 [539] Widowers are not liked; therefore (girls) will not quickly agree to be married to such ones. They say: "As a widower snarled"; "a widower a worn-out broom, scraping, scraping, who will be fool enough to agree to be married to such a one"?

Divorced men are not liked either. They say: "A divorced man, a fickle fellow, who knows for how many days."

They also put blame on widows. They say: "A widow, a stallion, neighing, neighing."

Divorced girls are especially blamed. They say: "A divorced girl, the head of a maena, smooth, smooth"; "a divorced girl, a green Bulbul bird, they cry in a thousand ways";

[63] See Dictionary s. v.

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Here they cast aside many of the customs of their forefathers, but no explanation is forthcoming at this date as to why they did so. Henceforth, their customs resembled those of the Hindus more and more. We learn that in ancient times, the Santal forefathers did not burn their dead, nor did they carry the bones of the dead men to the Damodar river for being consigned in its holy water. Previously, they buried the dead men. But all these were changed here. In marriage, the Hindu custom of applying vermilion to the forehead of the bride was henceforth adopted.

Next, the early Santals came to Icàk' buṭà (under the shade of a tree named Icàk'). As the womenfolk crossed the bog and gathered under a *mòhua* tree they were struck with wonder to find that the lotus-leaves they had trodden under their feet and the marks of *arta* (equivalent to Hindu *alta*, a red pigment applied by the Hindu women to dye the sides of their feet) were absolutely undisturbed and intact. From this strange phenomenon they were convinced that they had done the right thing in changing the customs and resolved that they should henceforth stick to the changes.

The early Santals lived at Icàk' buṭà for a long time. But, as before, they migrated. The reasons are again uncertain, some ascribing it to the fear of the Turuks. As they were passing on, they found

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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Rights and Duties of Certain Relations

We consider it necessary to note the peculiar rights and duties of certain relatives and their mutual behaviour, as noticed in the Santal society, to enable us to understand better their kinship organisation.

1. Father

During *Chàṭiàr* (a ceremony observed as a cleansing from ceremonial defilement after childbirth) it is the father who will hold and carry the oil with which his kinsmen will rub themselves before the customary ablution. None but the father of the child can discharge this function. The reverence paid by the Santal to his father can be witnessed from his customary ancestor-worship. The average son is very obedient to his father and quarrels are rare.

2. Eldest son

The eldest son is required by custom to apply the first fire to the dead body of his father during cremation.

3. Agnates

Bhàyàds (blood-relatives to the known degrees on the father's side) must assemble at the *Chàṭiàr*, marriage and funeral ceremonies of their kin. They present *bàṇḍia* and cloths and thus lighten the burden of the feasts, to which they are treated in return according to custom.

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4. Maternal uncle

In ceremonial functions, the maternal uncle takes the place of the guardian of the house, if the father or the brothers be dead. Thus the father stands first, next the paternal uncle, the maternal uncle holds the third place. The maternal uncle gets a marriage-present called *mama pòn* (bride-price, to be paid to the maternal uncle in case the father is not living).

5. Son-in-law

During certain *pujas*, the son-in-law of the family sacrifices goats, and during marriages he holds the basket of the bride (*dàurà*).[1]

As regards the mutual behaviour of relations, the Santals do not very much differ from the Hindus. Thus the mother is respected just according to Hindu ideologies. The brothers have friendly and fraternal feelings, and sisters are affectionately treated. The wife respects her husband like her lord. They have a folk-song which will illustrate the point further :—

Niṅgàñ nàpuñ sàri cando barabàri
Gateñ tuluc' tòkòe barabarik';

1. Bàhu dàurà = A specially large basket in which a bride is raised shoulder high at the time the bride-groom applies the red-paint (sindur) to her forehead, Dr. Campbell's Dictionary, p. 139.

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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121 62 64 ment and the customary laws that regulate the society to illustrate our observations.

The Limbs of Law

622 (1) In villages

(i) Headman:—

The social authority in the Santal villages is exercised ordinarily by the headman, called Mañjhi, with a batch of village officials to assist him. In [651] Mayurbhanj, he is generally called the Pròdhan, an office belonging to the rural revenue-collector, who need not always be the headman (Mañjhi). Accor- [427] ding to custom he is also the *Ijardar*, under a land-holder. His function is to collect rents and to [423] allot land amongst the tenants. His office is not [585] altogether honorary, for he holds free of rent parcels of *màn*[1] land and receives a fee of Re. 1 at each Santal marriage, presenting in turn a pot of rice-beer.

624 [423] (ii) *Paranik*:—He is the assistant headman also enjoying the privilege of rent-free land and having under him a third official, *Jòg-Paranik*.

(iii) *Jòg-Mañjhi*:—This interesting office belongs to a Santal for arranging tribal feasts and carousals of rice-beer, when he acts as a censor of village morals, and is called upon to exercise his

1. Land held by village officials rent-free.

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In some areas, as in the sadar sub-division of Mayurbhanj, there is an interesting variation in the custom requiring both the complainant and accused to pay jointly for the feast of the judges, in the proportion of ten annas for the accused and six annas for the complainant in the rupee. Generally the "pañc" themselves eat the dinner; the public take no part in it. The contending parties then depart after a cordial mutual *johar* (salutation). In frivolous cases, the complainant has got to pay a fine himself. So we see that the Headman is not the sole repository of law in the eye of tribal jurisprudence to settle disputes; he must consult the "*Mòṇṛèn* hòṛ" to arrive at a decision.

The Headman with the assembly decides all matters of a socio-religious, legal and quasi-legal nature of the village. They are the fountain-heads of justice and custodians of Santal customs and manners, the first court of law both civil and criminal, for the Santal is generally averse to litigation in legally constituted courts, and prefers the arbitration of his village-elders.

To go into details, the Headman with his assembly will raise subscriptions for the public festivals like the December Harvest-Home, for religious feasts, and for offering libations to the deities of serious epidemics affecting the tribe. In all cases of marriage and funerals, the Headman and his advisory body must attend. Such ceremonies without them are unthinkable to the Santal.

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562 585 302 (5) Vermilion is applied as a mark of recognition, even to a *rakhni* (mistress), by a married woman of any Santal clan during marriage ceremonies, when all married women of the tribe are anointed according to custom.

562 428 (6) When a man dies leaving his wife and brother and other kins on both sides, the widow inherits everything, provided her husband was separate from his brothers. But if he lived jointly (with his brothers), the widow gets maintenance only.

(7) The daughter has no share in her father's property, if there are male children.

(8) But if there are no sons, the daughter inherits in preference to all agnates.

562 *Legal status of Santal women in the Santal Parganas*

The status enjoyed by the Santal woman in her tribal fabric as revealed by the researches of Rev. P. O. Bodding presents an interesting study to show how an originally legal non-entity is gradually acquiring her rights of property recognised by indirect legal fictions.

[538] To revert to Santal myths and folk-tales we find woman being credited with uncanny powers associated with witches. Women, to the primitive Santal, can befool even the "*Bongas*" (the evil-spirit deities)

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father's sister. In this case the bridegroom may present only one, even if there be several of them. 584 431

Preparation For Wedding

585 • Now preparations for the marriage set the village buzzing with activity. Village elders assemble at the houses of both the bride and bridegroom in the afternoon. The villagers erect sylvan grottos sparkling with leaves and flowers and encircle the place with mango-leaves stuck in coils of strings, and thus decorate the outdoor across the *Kulhi* (village lane). The villagers get six pots of *Hàṇḍia* (rice-beer) from both the parties, two pots for the *ṭakacal* (Betrothal Ceremony), two for *Giratal* and two for *Dharua Ruku* ceremonies to follow just now, when the village elders at the bridegroom's house will ask for the bride-price (*gònòñ*) and the other ceremonial presents to be made over to them for examination. These include various dues to be paid to the Headman of the bride's party, the wife of the bride's elder brother, the friend of the bride and the vermilion to be applied to the bride's forehead. These, including an uncastrated goat, are thus ceremonially inspected, by the bride's party along with the women-folk present.

The bridegroom is next thrice bathed on a hole in the ground where a pair of yokes have been

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585 placed, being rubbed all over with *mòhua* oil and turmeric paste by unmarried girls, three such baths follow the similar ablution of a trio of married couples, each succeeding the bridegroom's bath, one after another. Now the bridegroom's father takes care to provide the procession that is now being formed, with sufficient rice (say half a maund), *dal* (pulse) and other food-stuff for the feast of the party.

The procession now starts with a great deal of eclat. Kettle drums, and cymbals beat to the accompaniment of merry music. The boys and girls of the tribe dance along, regardless of the fire-works that go on. A bullock cart contains older folk; and the bridegroom, carrying a betel-nut cracker, is conveyed on a palanquin.

585 588 256 *Seta Bapla, Daiban Bapla and Matkòm Bapla*

Now if the bridegroom or the bride in childhood had his or her teeth in the upper gum first, custom requires that he or she should at first be married to a dog. This is called *Seta Bapla*. Similarly, the bridegroom or the bride may be married to a *Daiban* tree (Oriya, *Sahara* tree) or a *Matkòm* tree (Mòhua, *Bassia Latifolia*) to ward off the evil effects of the inauspicious sign of their childhood.

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Procedure

In case of the *Daiban Bapla*, the party goes to a *Daiban* tree with the bride or bridegroom, while music goes on. The bride (or bridegroom) and the tree are then besmeared with turmeric paste and clothed with new cloths amidst *Itut Sindur* songs, while the bride puts vermilion on the trunk of the tree. A marriage on similar lines may be gone through with either a male or a female dog (in case of a bride and bridegroom respectively); but it must be performed in the courtyard of the boy or girl to be so married. *Matkòm Bapla* or marriage with a *mòhua* tree, requires that the party should go to a *mòhua* tree with *hàṇḍia* and new cloth. Thereafter, the mother of the bridegroom (or bride) applies turmeric paste on the tree and on the person of the bride-groom (or the bride). They then circle round the tree seven times amidst music and dances. 585 588

The procession then reaches the village of the bride. There, they are welcomed cordially and housed separately. Special songs called *Manduar*, (*Maṇḍwa* (?) temporary shed erected on the occasion of a marriage) sung jointly by both the parties follow a hearty repast, till the bride is made ready for the marriage. 585 [533]

As they advance towards the bride's house, a party of revellers obstruct them. They would not allow them (bridegroom's party) to pass on if the [524]

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585 524 latter cannot answer a battery of riddles to their satisfaction. A sample of such a riddle may prove interesting reading.

Question

[539] "Sather mahisi panara kila bejor kari bundhre bala ?" (There are sixty buffaloes and fifteen posts. Can you tie them in odd numbers ?).

Now the proper answer to this riddle is to repeat the very same question with an emphasis on "jor" in "bejor" which will imply that you can tie them by force. Questions like this are put every three or four steps that the procession may advance and amidst a good deal of these amusing blockades, the party of the bridegroom reaches the bride's house at night.

585 The next step, an important one, involves the inspection of the *gònòñ* (bride-price) articles by the bride's people, the unsatisfactory ones being returned forthwith for being replaced ; and when they are thought to be all right, *Gònòñ Toṛaoni* (being food and liquor given to the bridegroom's party on payment in full of the bride-price) is supplied to the bridegroom's party. Meanwhile, the bridegroom shines as the observed of all observers in a booth, (maṇḍwa) in front of the bride's house. Now, the [588] bride will have her first marriage with a *mòhua* tree (Santali, *Mathòm*, *Bassia Latifolia*, Roxb.), called

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Matkòm Bapla (marriage) or *Seta Bapla* or *Daiban Bapla* as described before. The bridegroom will change his turban with his *Sala* (brother-in-law) and preparations are now afoot for the most important ceremony, *Sindrà dan* (smearing the bride's forehead with vermilion). 585 [588]

Next, the bride is taken outside in a procession. The couple, wearing yellow clothes of an incomplete texture, are now made to meet half-way. A cloth is placed midway between the bride and the bridegroom and moved thrice in a circular way. The bride sits on a basket (*daura*) held up by the bridegroom's elder brother, and other members of the bridegroom's party ; while the bridegroom is carried on the shoulder of his *teñañ* (sister's husband). The couple move round thrice, while they (both the bride and the bridegroom) mutually throw sun-dried rice on their persons. The bridegroom next faces east, while the bride faces west. A man now brings a pot of spring-water with mango-twigs (with leaves). The bridegroom sprinkles the water through the mango-leaves on the bride. The bride does similarly.

Next, the bridegroom takes some vermilion with his middle finger and throws it on the ground. After this, he applies some vermilion on the bride's forehead amidst three shouts of *haribol* from those present.

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585 539 The following song is sung on the occasion—

Haribolo mènte sindur sari,
Haribolo mènte baha sari,
Haribolo mènte sindur noṭanadiñ,
Haribolo mènte baha rèbèt'adiñ,
Jiwi jàti sàṛi goṭanak'.

Translation:—

The vermilion in the name of Hari is pure and true.
The vermilion in the name of the flower is pure and true.
The vermilion in the name of Hari is wafted on me.
In the name of Hari, he (husband) tweaks a flower,
My life and clan are now complete.

585 The marriage thus solemnised, the couple are now brought down on earth. The ends of their cloths are tied, and they salute all their superiors. After this, the bride is taken inside the house by her mother; while the bridegroom, conveyed by his father-in-law, finds the doors shut against him by the sporting sisters of the bride ready to tease him for their dues, in the shape of money or ornaments. Escaping from his fair jailors, he is now led along with the bride, and presentations to the couple now pour on from the bride's relations. This eating

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together is the second essential after *Sindrà dan*, to constitute marriage. The ceremonies at the bride's place conclude with *Dak' Cal* (water-giving) when the bride offers rice-beer and tooth-sticks to the bridegroom's party, who in their turn, present her with suitable gifts. 585

Bridegroom's Return Home

The bridegroom's party now returns home with the bride leaving behind the goat, they carried, to be offered to the dead ancestors of the bride by the bride's party. They are welcomed home, amidst scenes of dancing, while the feet of the bride are washed by the bridegroom's younger sisters and those of the bridegroom by his elder brother's wife in the open courtyard (*angna*). The couple are next taken inside the rooms ; and again the doors are shut by the bridegroom's sister when they exact their presents from the imprisoned bride. Friends and relatives on the famale side present the couple with various articles after a dinner. The bride is next made to eat a meal soaked in the water in which the feet of her husband had been washed, to ensure that she will be his bond-slave for ever. [593]

Now, a ceremony follows called *Kadoghata* (i.e. handling of mud). The couple are now conveyed to the *jòl-ghat* (bathing place) by the women of the tribe. A water-vessel is carried. There, the couple

3s Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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585 mutually rub each other's person with oil and turmeric paste, while they offer some vermilion to *Marañ Buru* and the god of water (*Ma Gònga*) with the tips of their fingers. Should the bride be the first to apply the mark, she is deemed to be the future ruling party. Now, the bridegroom is given a brass-pot which he hides in the mud : the bride tries to find it out, and this intriguing process is repeated thrice. Now, after bath, all return home, when the bride washes the feet of her husband, his elder brother and other superiors.

Idi Agurnaal[1] (*Bride's return to her father's home*)

[169] After two days of the marriage, the couple return to the bride's home, when, the goat, left behind by the bridegroom's party at the time of marriage, is offered to the immediate dead ancestors of the bride. The elders of the village assemble, and the he-goat's meat is now cooked and every body joins the feast. The bridegroom is now presented with cows by his father-in-law, and should this present be delayed, he would hesitate to eat

[192] 1. "Agurnaal'." The word was so spelt by the educated Santals at Mayurbhanj. A similar word "àguàdar" in Dr. Campbell's *Santali to English Dictionary* means "A forerunner, those who precede a marriage-party to the bride's village", p. 6.

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when at dinner, and would give up his hunger-strike on proper assurances only. 585

Now, it is time for the go-between, *raebaric'*, who accompanied the couple all through, to drop off and the party returns to the bridegroom's home.

2. *Bàriàt Ate Bapla*

A second form of the orthodox marriage is named thus. The only difference from the previous ceremony here is that the bridegroom's party goes to the bride's house with the bridegroom, when they bring the bride over to their own house, where the marriage takes place with all formalities of *Asli* marriage. The uncastrated goat is also taken to the house of the bride where it is offered to her immediate ancestors. [1169]

3. *Tuñki Dipil*

Tuñki Dipil, also a variety of *Asli* marriage, is eminently suited to the poor. Here the betrothal party goes with the bride-price (*gònòñ*) to the house of the bride, and brings her to the bridegroom's home, where the marriage is celebrated with all the attendant ceremonies of the orthodox marriage.

In the foregoing pages, we have marked the orthodox systems of Santal marriage, which have, in course of time, adapted themselves to the pre- [1177]

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585 177 valent Hindu forms. Many of the ceremonials as the application of vermilion to the bride's forehead, have been traced directly to Hindu influences. 585 174 177 This *sindur dan* or *sindrà dan* is a remnant of the primitive custom of mixing the blood of the husband and wife, which they either drank or daubed themselves with, as a symbol of an eternal union. As it is a queer problem to discover whether the egg came first or the hen was first, ethnologists have in their turn, traced Dravidian influences in the custom. Similarly, the marriage with a *mòhua* [171] [588] tree, the race of the husband and wife while at the ceremony, called *Kado ghata*, have their parallel in the customs of the Hindus of the Central belt.

II. LOVE MARRIAGE

(1) Raja Raji

583 [834] The freedom of social intercourse that the Santals allow to their boys and girls, naturally leads to many love-marriages; but the Santals, even when in love, have to go through certain formalities 583 584 [622] before living as man and wife. So we see that when a couple feel the urge for matrimony, they go to the house of the village Headman and inform him of their desire. The Headman now will take them to the house of the lover and there, in the presence of the village elders, the beloved is asked

3s Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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583 Her answer may be an affirmation or a denial ; but in any case, she has, according to tribal laws, got to be married to her captor and a date is fixed and the bride-price settled. It is to be noted, however, that the payment of bride-price is a compulsory item in such marriages, whereas in love marriages it is optional. A special fine also is levied on the kidnapper, which goes to the village elders for their feasts and drinks. Such marriages [584] are quite valid in the eye of tribal law, and should the girl refuse to live with the boy, even then she must be formally divorced, so as to marry another.

Various reasons prompt Santals to have recourse to this method. Sometimes it is done to humiliate a girl in the public eye ; while there are instances, cited during our investigation at Mayurbhanj, of such girls found to be secret consenting parties to their capture, when they found their parents opposed to the alliance.

583 (3) Baha Dor Bapla

585 One of the most unsophisticated of human marriages can be seen in the Santal form of *Baha Dor Bapla*, thought by some to be the original Santal ceremony, which supposes a marriage to be a completed one, if a boy and a girl run to the jungle, garland each other, and on their return shut them-

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selves in a room, when they are *ipso facto* considered to be married.

(4) Jhàri Pani

A yet another form of love-marriage is humorously enough called *Jhàri Pani* (diluted rice beer), which results from the cohabitation of a couple under the influence of drinks at a beer-shop.

(5) Kiring Janwane

This is a form of marriage, which takes place when a girl becomes quick with child as the result of a liaison with a man of her own clan. As a way out of the tribal taboo, some one is procured "to accept the post of a husband, and in consideration of his services gets two bullocks, a cow, a quantity of paddy from the family of the man by whom the girl was made pregnant. The Headman then calls the villagers together and in their presence, declares the couple to be man and wife and enjoins the girl to live with, and be faithful to, the husband that has been provided for her."[1]

III. SANGA (*Widow marriage*)

(1) The Santals, like the other Mundà tribes, have the institution of widow marriage by widow-

1. Ref. Risley, *People of India*, App. VIII, p. clxii.

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595 (3) Hirom Cetan Bapla.

Although tribal custom generally favours monogamous marriages, a fairly large number of Santals in Mayurbhanj have a number of lesser wives. This form is called as *Hirom Cetan Bapla*, which means 'a union while a co-wife exists'. The first wife is known as *Bòtki*, while the second passes on as *Chutki*. That this form often degenerates into mere concubinage will be apparent from the fact that they are popularly termed "Rakhni Priya" in Mayurbhanj, which means a mistress additionally maintained. These wives are allowed all the privileges of wives. And when they die, the husband applies vermilion on their forehead, thus legitimising them finally.

Conclusion

585 885 182 Marriage amongst the Santals serves as the stepping stone to the adult life of the tribesman. Apart from the biological aspect of the increase to the population and thereby to the strength of the tribe, it makes a young Santal a full-fledged member of the community, endowed with all the rights and duties of the adult. On the economic side, the Santal now gets a partner in life on payment of a price; and in its social aspect, it means the beginning of a new family, a further source of strength to the clan and then to the tribe.

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One scrutinising the attendant marriage ceremonials must be struck by the fact that many of them aim at the union of the souls of the married couple along with their physical bodies. The tying of the ends of the cloths worn by the husband and the wife and their eating together, are instances on the point. Something more than this is sought after to ensure the steadfast obedience of the wife to the husband when the former eats a meal soaked in the water with which her husband's feet have been washed.

The same anxiety for the future welfare of the married couple is revealed in processes to guard the luck, and to exclude the evil omens, as by the beneficent and luck-conferring virtues of the mango-twigs in a water-pot. And we must not forget that omen-reading is the first essential of all Santal marriages. In this respect, they go so far as to marry the parties to dogs or trees to do away with the supposed evil effects of their teeth having appeared earlier in the upper gum. Nor must we overlook the fact that the married couple not only belong to each other but to the wider life of the clan and the tribe. This communion of the bride with her husband's people is ensured by the girl offering rice-beer and tooth-sticks to the bridegroom's party. And by ceremonial baths and anointing the body with turmeric paste, the Santals

31 Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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585 182 783 want to purify the couple from the evil effects of chance pre-marital sex-connections (a rare phenomenon with educated Santals), thereby neutralising the dangers to the family and the tribe.

585 179 182 Many of these ceremonials are closely analogous to Hindu practices; and have probably been borrowed and are thus due to culture contact, although it is not improbable that the Hindus themselves might have at an early period assimilated some similar Pre-Dravidian practices. Whatever that may be, one must

585 182 771 notice that Santal marriages are closely associated with religion as is indicated by offering of vermilion to *Maran Buru* and a goat to the dead ancestors. Thus we find that marriage no longer remains a civil contract of getting a partner in life on payment of a price, but takes the form of a sacrament as well.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

764 The Santals have their own funeral customs. When a death takes place in the tribe, the village Headman and the elders flock together at the house in mourning, when they rub the dead body with oil and turmeric. Now, the corpse is taken out of the house in a *khatia* (a stringed bed-stead), placed in the yard and cleansed with cow-dung and water. A handful of paddy is spread over the spot and some thrust into the right palm of the deceased and thrown down some time later. The bier is next

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533 Look there at my daughter-in-law!
539 Look, how beautiful she looks like the
796 *Kursà* flower;

But I could not win her heart.
To get her as a bride, I spent all I had,
But I could not win her heart.

796 In the chapter on "Cycle of Santal Festivals,"
533 we have noted an extract of a song singing the
538 advent of Spring, during the *Baba* (Flower Festival). This festival has got an elaborate cycle of songs, many of which are not easily amenable to translation, being full of archaic Santali; but they contain poetry that is simple, spontaneous and fragrant of the "smell of Mother Earth." One sample taken from the first two stanzas of a duet, as given there, will give the reader a glimpse of the essential poetry of the Santals. Similarly, we have seen that the *Pata* (Santal *Còṛòk*, Hook-swinging festival) has its own round of songs, and we have marked the *joi de vivre* as reflected in the song already quoted, (in our account of the festival) in which a woman requests her sister to accompany her to the "uplands" to witness the *Pata* festival for three days to their heart's content.

Marriage Songs

585 Marriage, always a fruitful source of poetry and
538 humour, has produced a song-cycle amongst the
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3: Mukherjea O, Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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Santals. Our poetry-bag can be drawn upon to illustrate some of the customs and the corresponding emotions in the Santal bride and bride-groom. 585 538 533

A bride sings:

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Niñ ñutum dò baba baṛgeṛe mad waepe,
Guric' mandere khuṇṭi bidme,
Niñ ñutum bàryatko hòṛ rege daraṃ kope,
Niṅren juridò natorege.

(Translation)

O father, build the canopy in the field (near the house, not in the court-yard).
Fix the post (of the canopy) in the cow-dung heap.
And when the bride-groom's party comes, meet them on the way (and make them return),
Because my (life's) mate is in the village.

Here is presumably a case of a girl being given marriage without her consent; a formal courtship being not always favoured by many parents now. Naturally, there are a number of unhappy marriages, and in the poem, we have just translated, the bride-groom is prescribed a humiliating reception because the bride's lover is already in the village. [584]

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Another song describes the marriage dances thus:

Cameda latarre mandewa latarre,
Lid lupur lidar lupur bàihàṛ ròṭè,
Leka meṛsa meṛsi.

(Translation)

They are dancing beneath the canopy
under the branch of the tree;
They are hopping up and down and cheek
by jowl, like frogs in the field.

In the following song, the singer addresses the caged-bird as to the time when the bridal party is expected to arrive:

Cetan disom khon niñidiṅ
Darakan disadaram ben nasul
Miru, najani din coṅ, najani ñindà coṅ,
Pasen coṅ dinman tala ñindà.

(Translation)

They are coming from the up-country to
take me.
O bird, do tell me when they will come?
Keep awake and tell me when they will come.
They might come in day-light or at night,
They might come at midday or mid-night.

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Here, a reference may be made to a humorous song about a bride-groom's party. 585 533 539

Cetan disomren saṅge bàryàt,
Baṛe buṭàrebòn ḍeraket'ko;
Jomak' ñuniak' dò timinrècòṅ
Baṛe hòṅgòr hataṛ metakope.

(Translation)

We have a big bride-groom's party from up-country.
We have given them a resting place under the banyan tree.
It is not known when we can serve them dinner.
Let them in the meantime eat the banyan fruit.

Marriage ceremonies in Santal villages are red-letter days in the life of the women of the tribe. The following song expresses the joy that infects the life of the community.:

Teheñge siñdo, teheñge ñindàdo
Matkòm gelere ñelerasa
Dose làiakope, ràsi nato kuṛi koṛa
Doko ñeljoṅ ma
Matkòm gelere ñelerasa.

(Translation)

This day is a day of all days,
This night is a night of all nights.

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In *mohua* flowers there is honey.
Go and tell the youths and maids of populous villages;
Let them come and see
The *mohua* flowers are full of honey.

During the farewell between the bride and her people, some very pathetic songs are sung. The sample quoted below has almost a tragic touch in the separation :—

Beker beker yamgim janamlidiñ,
Konor konor yamgim haralidiñ.
Bàtire basañ dak'màlire sunum
Kòtò jòtònte yamgim haralidiñ.
Bam dayalenayo bammayalen,
Tala ñiṇdà minhun mèròm
Leka yamgim chutikidiñ.

(Translation)

As a babe you brought me forth on this earth,
You have reared me up in your arm (always);
With a bowl of tepid water and oil in a vessel,
With what a care have you reared me up!
O mother, where is your affection for me?
You are now sending me in midnight like a cow or goat.

We conclude the marriage-songs with another instance which may find a parallel in the final speech

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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of Kanva while bidding farewell to his foster daughter, Sakuntala. 585 533 539

Hòpòn hòpòn gidrà kuṛi
Sitoñ lòlò din repe, idiekantiñ,
Eho chandoboñga!
Jhipir jhipir dagme, purbarimil hoeme,
Rearayliñgmeho Cando boñga!

(Translation)

My daughter is very young,
You are taking her when the day is hot,
O God, let it rain in drops,
Let the eastern wind blow and make cool (the journey).

Songs of love

As is only natural, a good deal of Santal folk-songs deal with the eternal reaction on men and women regarding matters of the human heart. In the following song, a man thus speaks of his love for a lame girl:— 533 831 [539]

Burure siñarak' legec' legec' siñarak,'
Jibòn calak' rehoiñ sidgeya,
Natore kuṛi konrse kaṭa kuṛi'
Hiròm cetan rehoiñ agucya.

1. "Kònrse Kata" is explained in Dr. Campbell's Dictionary as "Side-ways." Many Santals in Mayurbhanj say it means a flower. In that view it will mean as beautiful as a 'Kònrse Kata' flower. [114] [192]

3: Mukherjea O, Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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533 731 782 789 [539] god, which are sung to make the skies yield rain. One such sample is quoted below: —

Svarager hur hur
Prithimite dhula chilu urilò
Dhaner sisò chilu marilò
Manuser chati chilu phatilò he.

(Translation)

In the sky, clouds rumble, Oh god!
On the earth, dust flies.
Oh god! the ears of corn dry up.
The hearts of men are breaking, Oh god!

Dòn ènèc'

535 [585] This is danced during marriages generally. Mixed men and women choose their groups and form a lively circle. The women interlock their hands gracefully, whereas, men with *Nagera* and *Madal* stand in the centre forming an inner circle. As the music continues, the dancers advance two steps to the right in a general motion. Next, they gracefully extend each feet forward. Thus they dance for twenty minutes or so, while women sing in unison. When the dance finishes, it is now men's turn to sing, while women reply in a musical chorus. This goes on for some time, when again the drums resound; the countryside echoes and re-echoes with a merry din and the dance starts afresh.

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At the time of parting after marriage the mother of the girl sings the following song which shows how strong is the affection of the mother towards her daughter[1]:

"Dash manse kukhi may rakalom,
Baro manse danda may rakalom,
Ebekaise racabo madiya,
Duyar rahilagigelare thesh,
Dosh manse kukhimmay rakhalom,
Baro manse dandamay rakhalom,
Ebekaise rackabo madhiya yayokera,
Mayakoise chhora Bore.

Utho dhanichala dhalga yuth,
Dhanichals dhani ghorge,
Chala dhani yuthi chali jay,
Tilamaka tandi purbhu ghora,
Jhinilage yayokera,
Mayakoise chhora Bore,
Baba hipaoyalaug mutha bhari,
Taka oyajo bhayahi paopalang,
Sursingya barada, mayahin,
Paoyalang kanchura kapra jore.

Muth bhari taka paoya yudali,
Jai gel surasingya baroda gada,
Shota jay gelo, kanchura kaprajo,
Chhitali jay gelo, matha bhari,
Sindura jo jonome jonome daybhel".

[1] E. G. Man—Sonthalia and the Sonthals, London 1867.

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(English Translation)

593 "For ten months I kept thee in my womb,
585 For twelve I had thee on my waist,
539 How can I keep thee now ? Oh, my daughter,
533 The house is up to the door full of people.

(*Chorus*)

For ten months I kept thee in my womb,
For twelve I had thee on my waist,
How can I keep thee now ? Oh, my daughter,
How can thou part with mother's affection.

Oh mother, for pity's sake do not leave me.
How can I leave thee ?

Get up my daughter and begone.
On the Tilayaka place stands the rich man's
horse saddled and bridled,
Oh my darling mother, how can I leave thee ?
My father has received a handful of rupees
and a long horned bull
Mymother has got a striped dress
The handful of rupees is spent, the striped
dress of my mother is worn out
The tall-horned bull died in the bathing place
My head is marked repeatedly with the red paint
I am signed for ever and ever"

683 I now cite an incident in which it can be seen how
593 the father is attached to his sons and daughters—for
159 the son's sake the father murdered his own mother and mother's sister.

It was alleged that Malta lost a son and a daughter who died of fever some time before the murder. Suspecting that his mother was a witch and

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614 to the use of vermilion and may be due to the impor-
302 tant custom of smearing with vermilion on the occasion
184 of marriage and other auspicious ceremonies which once divided the Santals into two groups based on the use and non-use of vermilion. That this was the uppermost idea in the Santal's mind was forcibly impressed on me while taking their measurements and enquiring of their sub-septs; the majority came out with either Sada (white) or Nij (proper). Thus the sub-sept division not being exogamic is not so much a vital part of their social organization; rather it was a division
[174] due to culturtal difference. The possibilities are that once either the vermilion was a borrowed culture trait from outside or its use was given up by a section due to some internal reform movement or influence of some superior non-vermilion-using culture. It is more probable that the use of vermilion was more innate to
• [585] them becuse the users are called the Nij or proper.
[171] Vermilion, it may be noted, is used by them only on the occasion of marriage. Among the Bengal Hindus vermilion is not only used in marriage but has to be always worn on the parted hair of the married women, lack of vermilion signifying widowhood. On the other hand in other parts of Hindu India more stress is laid on the use of flowers by the married women. Vermilion is not known in the primitive area of Assam. Thus it is probably a vital part of the culture of Chota Nagpur tribes.

Notes on Sub-septs

614 THA-OR SUB-SEPT
782 Whenever any ceremony (religious) occurs the
184 members of this sub-sept sacrifice a goat or a pig in

584 and cymbals, and embrace each other. Then the bride's party comes back to their village.

After a few days the same ceremony is repeated in the bride's house. The bridegroom's party comes to the bride's house and the furture father-in-law takes the girl and seats her on his thigh and gives her a solid brass necklet and kisses her.

583 [178] **Takachal (Payment of Bride-Price):** Generally the bride's father demands twelve rupees now a days. This bride-price is divided between the following persons :—

Father of the bride gets	Rs. 3/-
Mother of the bride gets	Rs. 3/-
Mother's mother gets	Rs. 2/-
Father's mother gets	Rs. 2/-

The brother of the bride will get from the bridegroom a bull, if the bridegroom's father fails to give the bull then he pays Rs. 2 in exchange. The headman of the bride's village gets from the father of the groom one rupee. From that rupee the headman pays annas eight to the bariatko (those who follow the [178] bridegroom to the bride's house). Previously there was a custom to give rice and Pachawee and not cash.

584 585 The next function is to fix the day for marriage. The Santals give their sons and daughters in marriage generally in the month of Baisakh and Phalgun. It is their custom not to marry their children in the month 584 of birth. Through the Raibar the bridegroom's father 585 sends a string with a number of knots on it. The 211 number of knots indicates the number of days. The father of the bride therefore getting the string understands that the bridegroom's father wants to fix his son's marriage as many days afterwards as the string

1 [Erratum: this should read "future." Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

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contains knots. Now, if the father of the bride agrees, he sends the same number of knots on another string to the bridegroom's father by the Raibar, but if he wants to have his daughter's marriage earlier or later he sends more or less knots on the string as the case may be.

Mandwa Ceremony: Then comes the Mandwa ceremony which may takes place on the marriage day or one or two days earlier. This ceremony is performed in the same manner in both bride's and bridegroom's houses. For this they build a temporary shed in the centre of the courtyard. This is a rectangular shed with a strong central post which is called *Mandwa-Khunti*. This shed is erected by the young men of the village who are known as *Mandwa Kora*. *Pachawes* and boiled rice are given to those young men both at the time of building and at the time of removing it after marriage. In the centre of the shed a branch of the Mahua tree (Madhuca latifolia Roxb) is planted and young maiden of the village keep five roots of turmeric, five paddy-grains and five pice in a hole which is dug by the unmarried youngmen[1]. The Jogmanjhi brings five Kumaris (unmarried girls) to rub oil on the following persons within the Mandwa shed in the following order: Naike and his wife, Kudam naike and his wife, the headman and his wife, the Paramanik and his wife the Jogmanjhi and his wife, the parents of the bride and bridegroom, as the case may be. Last of all, in the hands of villagers who may be present there only mustard oil and turmeric is given.

[1]This has some magical significance. The rice and turmeric roots show any sign of sprouting then, the married life will be happy and never has any difficulty in married life.

[2 Erratum: i.e., "take." 3 Erratum: i.e., "maidens." -- Analyst]

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• 585 Then on the appointed day the bridegroom with the bariatko (friends, relatives and villagers) starts for the bride's house in the afternoon. When they reach the village of the bride, they wait outside the village in a field, and they are cordially welcomed by the bride's father and relatives. Dancing and music were already going on there, tum tums, madals and cymbals being beaten more than ever. The bride wearing a new cloth stands a little apart by the side of the bridegroom. [593] The bridegroom's younger brother, an important personage in the scene, stands on his left side and the whole party stands on the road just at the entrance to the village. A large crowd of village females, each bearing a brass basin containing a lump of coarse molasses and a lota filled with water stand there. [576] Upon the usual greetings being offered which consist of all bending down respectfully and touching the ankles of the happy group, the elder women step forward and each in turn taking a large pinch from the molasses thrusts it first into the bride's mouth with her fingers and thumb, after which she holds the lota of water for the bride to drink from and then pours a little of the water over her feet. The same ceremony is performed on the bridegroom and his brother. The dancing and music are kept up without cessation during this performance and many torches are also lit. [593] [604] After this, three women—the mother, the elder aunt and the younger aunt of the bride—come out of the crowd and take the bridegroom, his brother and the bride away with them into the village followed by other attendant girls and women who amuse themselves with cutting jokes on the blushing bride. All then proceed

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to a clean house washed spick and span which the Joghmanjhi of the village has made ready. On its threshold stands a young and graceful maiden with a lighted taper in her hand awaiting their approach all alert and she stands there for an hour after the pair come in. She is generally the younger sister of the bride, in absence of whom her cousin does this function. Here the carriers drop their burdens and after salutation the same cleaning and washing of feet is undergone when they are again taken up and deposited at the next house and this goes on through the whole village. 585 • [593] [605]

It is well nigh midnight before all these preliminaries are settled. The bridegroom's father takes with him food for the bariatko who in the meantime have their fill. Then if there be excess of money all the villagers get a share of it. This payment is given on their leaf-plates. In the feast the outcaste serve salt, which is the most important function in the ceremony. After the feast an old Parganait says "From today we have taken them into our society again, all pollution has been washed away. We shall take food in their houses, we shall give them our daughters in marriage and also take their daughters for our sons, etc". Thereupon they dig a small hole in the earth in which they bury a lump of cowdung and put a stone on top, thereby symbolizing that the matter is buried for ever. Thus the man and woman become Santals again. The wedding party then adjourns to the house of the bride. The bride then is put into a basket and her male relations lift her up and the bridegroom is raised upon the shoulder of her eldest brother; thus he meets her and applies vermilion on her forehead five times with [593]

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585 [593] a horizontal stroke. This part is the most important of the whole function of the marriage ceremony. Then paddy and grain are showered over her.

Then the wedding feast begins. The Jogmanjhi who is in charge of this makes the food ready which consists of goat's flesh, pork, fowl, boiled rice and large earthen pots filled with pachawee. All the villagers, both male and female, young and old, eat to their heart's content.

Next day the bride and bridegroom and a few female relatives of the bride come back to the house of the bridegroom. The female relatives remain there with the bride that night. Next day after a good feast they come back to their village. To all the villagers of the bridegroom's party he gives a feast which ends the marriage ceremony.

587 [583] **Sanga Bapla** :—In this form of marriage the divorced woman or widow is married with a widower. This type of marriage may be compared with the Nika system of the Muhamedans. Here the bridegroom and the bride settle the marriage negotiation and mostly the male takes the initiative. In this marriage the bride price is very nominal, a new sari is given to the bride by the bridegroom. On the appointed day of the marriage the bridegroom comes to the bride's house accompained by his father (if he is alive) and a few co-villagers. The binding ceremony of the Santal marriage is the Sindurdan ; which here is done not by applying Sindur directly on the parting of the hair of bride by the bridegroom, but instead he smears a dimbu flower with vermilion and fixes it in the bride's coiffure. A feast is then arranged.

583 he procures a ghardi-jawae to get help in his agricultural work. When a girl is ugly or deformed and there is no prospect of her being asked in marriage in the ordinary way, this form of marriage takes place.

[584] Usually a man seeks a wife for his sons; here it is the opposite. All expenses of marriage are borne by the father of the girl. At an ordinary marriage the bridegroom's friends are called bariatko; here it is the friends of the bride that are called so. In this kind of marriage the bridegroom pays nothing for his bride but lives with his father-in-law and works for him without wages for five years. At the time of marriage the girl's parents give the young man a calf. This becomes his personal property. The girl also gets a calf at the time of marriage. She is further permitted to get "arpa", i.e., reap a few sheaves of paddy for herself. If a man wishes his ghardi-jawae to become his heir this has to be specially arranged and publicly declared and such is done at the time of marriage. When a man procures a ghardi-jawae to get help in his agricultural work, in such cases the girl's father sets aside a bit of land for this ghardi-jawae and helps him to get additional land. When the five years of service are over, the ghardi-jawae is free to depart.

585 583 On the appointed day of the marriage the bridegroom with some important persons of his village comes to the house of the bride. As soon as the bridegroom arrives, the father of the bride calls the headman and the jogmanjhi and a few others. In their presence the bridegroom performs the Sindurdan ceremony (vermilion ceremony). A good feast is

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then arranged. The bridegroom with his wife lives in his father-in-law's house and helps him in his household and agricultural work.

Apangir Bapla: I have not come across such a marriage during my investigation. Uma Choudhury when she made a survey of Santal manners and customs in the Santal villages of Hazaribagh, got information about the Apangir Bapla. I am here giving the details of the marriage in her words. "Marriage after elopement is known as Apangir bapla. Santal men and women are quite free to meet at fairs or fields. These stray meetings often lead to love marriages. To signify that a man has fallen in love with a girl, he has to give her a flower as a token of this love wherever they meet. If she returns his love she accepts the token. If she does not she ignores it. When both the boy and the girl are thus informally betrothed by themselves they meet at a moonlit dance which is known as Jhumar dance. As the dance goes on the girl talks with the brother of the boy either real or classifactory and the conversation follows with two meanings and suggestions. The boy gradually comes near the girl of his choice and throws flower at her and is allowed to catch her hand. Then they talk between them softly and slowly so that no one knows what goes on between them. If they are satisfied in their talks the boy proposes to marry the girl and the girl in her turn asks him whether he is willing to maintain her. The usual form of reply which the boy gives is that if she obeys him he will maintain her, otherwise he will not. Immediately after Jhumar dance, regular courtship proceeds. This court-

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583 ship period is regarded as the happiest time for both.
584 They meet regularly at some selected place outside the village in a jungle or meadow. Their movements are always kept secret. Gradually the relatives of both the parties come to know what is going on between their son and daughter. They find that the boy and the girl do not return home sometimes for days and nights together. So they have to consider consequences of such courtship between the two and even send men
583 on all directions for them. When it is found out what
584 has been going on between the boy and the girl a
627 Panchayat is called. In this Panchayat the presence of the parents of both the parties along with the headman of the two villages is necessary. Further five important persons of the village are invited. The girl's parents ask the boy why he has eloped with their daughter. The boy's parents in their turn ask the girl why she has consented to go with their boy. Then the boy and the girl have to disclose the whole thing about their courtship before the Panchayat and the two village headmen condemn them for their misbehaviour. They tell them that if they want to live together they have to marry otherwise they will not allow them to live together or to meet each other. If they are agreed to this proposal of marriage all the people present in the assembly immediately and make the
583 necessary arrangements for their marriage. In such cases
585 the marriage ceremony is not so elaborate as in the Raebar bapla. Only in the presence of the two village headmen and all the other important people of the Panchayat does the sindradan ceremony takes place.

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After that the boy has to pay sufficient money as fines to provide a feast for the whole village[1].

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Tunki Dipil Bapla: This type of marriage is performed by poor men. As they have not sufficient money to bear the expenses of the regular marriage (Raibar Bapla) they resort to this type, in which the bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom with a small basket on her head, a few friends and relatives accompany her to her house. The bridegroom in the presence of these persons applies vermilion mark on her head and a feast is then arranged and the couple then live as husband and wife.

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Itut Bapla: This is adopted by forward young men who are not quite sure whether the girl they fancy will accept them, and take this means of compelling her to marry. The man taking some vermilion on his fingers watches his opportunity at the fair or on any similar occasion, marks the girl he is in love with on the forehead and claims her as his wife. Doing this he runs away at full speed to escape from the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations if he is caught on the spot. In any case the girl's relatives will go to his village and will obtain from the headmen the permission to kill and eat three of the goats of the offender or of his father and a double bride-price must be paid for the girl. The marriage is however legal and if the girl still declines to live with the man, she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster.

[586]

[1]Uma Chowdhury—Marriage Customs of the Santals—Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology Vol. I No. 1 January, 1952 pp. 104-105.

[13]

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624 and scold him and fine him. At the time of *Sohrae*
[796] *parab* all the villagers, young and old, male and female, drink handi (rice beer). Singing, dancing and other entertainments go on without restriction for five days and nights and at these times the boys and girls remain in charge of the Jogmanjhi. At the birth of a
[844] child and at marriages he is in charge of those cere-
[585] monies, and when the village youths attend a night festival he is in charge of them. Formerly he had a
[178] very important position though now gradually he is losing all authority; but the young people still use him as a safe repository of their secrets. The *Jogmanjhi* has an assistant called *Jog-Paramanik* who officiates when he is absent.

Village Beadle—Goddet (Gorait-Risley): Next in rank is the *Goddet*, an orderly or peon of the headman of the village, who calls the villagers together at his command and also collects sacrificial fowl for the village sacrifices. Whenever any foreigner comes in the village and enquires about the headman, the *Goddet* at once
[114] runs and informs him. (One morning I went to a village at Katikund within Dumka Sub-division. I asked the villager where the headman of the village was. The *Goddet* said he was in the agricultural field and at once ran to call him. He then came back with the headman to me). The Santals call the *Goddet Marang, Manjhi* i.e., great chief, and there are many instances of *Goddets* having ousted a *Manjhi* or even a *Parganait*. If a *Paramanik* gets the office of *Manjhi* it is considered proper that the *Goddet* should become *Paramanik*.

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797 sprang from this pair. Also they correlate *Maran Buru*
771 with 'Satan'. They believe that *Maran Buru* spoiled
177 the first human pair and revealed to them the secret of sexual intercourse, just like the Christian who believe that Satan is responsible for the downfall of the first pair, [796] Adam and Eve. The converted Santals observe the Christmas Day and Good Friday. Harvest Festivals are celebrated by decorating Churches and offering prayers.

795 **Effect on the Social Culture of the Santals due to alien**
797 **influence.** The social system of the Santal is communistic
177 in nature. In any festival, or ceremony the whole
[181] village takes part. This cohesion is now losing its
[184] strength. For this, missionary activities are to a certain extent responsible. The Christian converts are being cut off from social intercourse. Sometime a christian family is put to great inconvenience. This is particularly [764] the case when a death occurs for the non-christians will have nothing whatever to do with the disposal of the dead body. The non-christian method of disposing the dead body is by cremation whereas the converted Santals practise burial and subsequent mourning and funeral ceremonies according to the Christian way. There is [582] no bar to marrying more than one wife in Santal tribal custom. But this practice is strictly prohibited among Christian Santals as Christian religion strictly prohibits *bigamy*. Cross cousin marriage, and marriage with non-Santals is not tolerated by the tribal Santals but among Christian Santals, these things are not prohibited.

[585] The marriage ceremony is held either in the Church or in the courtyards of the house of the bride's parents

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and it is conducted according to the provision of the Indian Christian Marriage Act.

Material Culture. Material culture of the Santals of the Santal parganas has not much changed. They now wear cotton dhuties, shirts and gangees and the women have accepted cotton saris which are used by the Hindus. The well-to-do Christian Santals wear European dress, *i.e.* coats, pants, shirts, socks and shoes. The christian women wear Saris, blouses and petti coat according to the Hindu style.

Some of the younger men and women of the Christian community go out for employment in the towns and cities and when they come back they display their superior material culture, such as fountain pen, wristwatches and other luxury goods.

Rice beer is their important drink but the Christian missionaries make propaganda in favour of total abstinence, and the Christian Santals are gradually giving up this habit and tea is being substituted for it. Machine made cigarettes are slowly coming into use.

In the preparation of rice it seems they have copied something from the Bengali Hindus. The Santals like the Bengalis use boiled rice for their food and unboiled rice for offering to their tribal deities.

The indigenous husking machine of the Santals is mortar and pestle, but they also use husking lever (dhenki) in husking rice which they have copied from their Hindu neighbours.

The Santals, when they speak among themselves, use their own language. But with the 'Dikhus' in the Santal Parganas they speak in broken Hindi and

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Bengali. The female members mostly cannot speak any language except their own. They learn Hindi when they come in contact with the Hindi speaking labourers in the coal mines, railway workshops or when they come in contact with the Hindu Mahajans (money lenders) and traders. Some of the Hindi and Bengali words have also been introduced in their vocabulary which can be noticed in the language of their *mantras* and *prayers*.

Vermilion is one of the most important item for marriage and in the worship of deities both for the Hindus and the Santals. Some think that the Santals have copied it from the Hindus, but it is doubtful whether it is their borrowed thing at all. Because in such important social customs as marriage and worship of tribal deities, vermilion is considered by the Santals as an essential ingredient. There is a kind of marriage in which a Santal can marry a woman simply by applying vermilion on her forehead, which shows that vermilion is the only binding source of marriage here. Such an important ingredient of culture is not usually borrowed and we can take it as a case of culture similarity. Similarly, another custom of *Garde Jawas* is prevalent both among the Santals and the Hindus. There are other similarities in their social, religious and economic structure with the Hindus, but all of them cannot be attributed to their borrowing from the Hindus. Infact, saying so, implies that the Santals had no culture of of their own, which can not be true. It seems that there has been a two-way traffic of culture exchange-Hindus having borrowed some elements from the Santals and vice versa.

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man, together with that of all the other officials, was renewed annually, but there is little reality in it at the present day and the post is held for life. He is the spokesman of the villagers in all matters affecting their temporal welfare. In the original settlements it was usual for two or three brothers to start the new village together. The eldest brother assumed the leading position, and all the lands cleared or claimed for the future were in his gift. The cultivable land was divided equally after some portions had been reserved for the officials in recognition of the services they would be called on to perform for the benefit of the community, and the headman received the biggest share of the reserved land. As the village grew, others came to settle. Some became the tenants of the headman, fleeing from the oppression of landlords elsewhere. Others came into the village by marrying daughters of the first settlers. So it comes about that the family of the headman is the most substantial in the village. During the course of years, however, even the headman has in the majority of cases lost his original rights to a non-Santal landlord and has himself become an under-tenant, in spite of which his family has maintained its favourable position in relation to the rest of the villagers. In some cases he has also been able to acquire the rights of other tenants who have defaulted for one reason or another in paying rent. In addition to land, the headman receives other payments which he can use for his own benefit. Thus, when an offender against tribal custom is fined the headman receives a fourth of the total amount. During the spring hunts he receives a part of the flesh of every animal slain by a man from his own village. During the marriage ceremonies he occupies an important position throughout, and when a new bride is coming to his village her father has to pay a rupee to him before the party sets out from her home. At all times he is treated with great respect, especially by the younger members of the community. A marriage party always pays its respects first at his house, and at festivals, when the young men go dancing through the village street, they start outside the headman's house.

In all matters involving the members of more than one village he is the acknowledged representative of his own people, whether it be the making of arrangements for a marriage or the fixing of dates for festivals and for hunts. In the settling of disputes he acquires considerable experience, being the chairman of the council in his own village and meeting with the headmen of other villages when the hunt council sits. Enjoying a position

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and legends of Hinduism. The linguistic evidence shows how their material culture has been vitally affected and has some bearing on the more elusive realm of thought and belief. The grammatical structure of Santali has little in common with that of the Indo-Aryan tongues. It is an agglutinative and not an inflectional language. There have, however, been large and extensive borrowings of words. An instructive example can be taken from their method of husking rice. The term *ḍhinki*, used for a foot-pedal rice husker, has been borrowed from Bengali, and a *ḍhinki* is found in almost every home. The rice that is husked at the time of making sacrifices must be prepared in the home of the village priest, and in its preparation the use of the older and more primitive *ukhuṛ* is obligatory. This is a wooden mortar in which the rice is husked by hand with a wooden pestle, or *tok*. Both these words are Austro-Asiatic in origin. It is likely that when the household adopted the new method of husking rice the tribe did not change over from the old method of husking the sacred rice for fear of a loss in efficacy. One reason given is that as the *ḍhinki* is operated by the foot, rice husked in the *ḍhinki* is unclean and so unfit for offering to the spirits. It may be that the association of a mortar and pestle with sexual symbolism enhanced its magical value. The symbolism in this case is familiar to the Santal mind, for one way of expressing differences of sex is to refer to boys as "pestles" and to girls as "mortars". The *ukhuṛ* has to be used by the medicine man in preparing remedies; it is also used at marriages, when the feet of the bridegroom's party are washed over an *ukhuṛ*, and an *ukhuṛ* filled with water is required during the death ceremonies. In Bengal the rice which forms the daily food of the people is boiled before husking, and the Santals follow the same method in preparing it; but the rice used in sacrifices, *aḍwa caole*, is never so treated, being dried in the sun.

Among their domestic animals, the fowl, the dog and the goat have non-Bengali names, while the names for pigeons, sheep, pigs and, most important of all, their cattle are borrowed. Fowls, goats and pigs are all used in their sacrifices. In the realm of wild life the Santal has found little need to borrow a vocabulary from his neighbours. Wild animals, birds, trees and shrubs, many fish and insects, also snakes, have Santali names. The same is true of most of the weapons used in hunting. Although the term for paddy is Santal, the names of all the implements now used in rice cultivation and the terms for the

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month. The date of the third is arranged while the first hunt is in progress, and it is announced by means of a *girq*. This is a method of reckoning dates or announcing future events. It may be used in connection with a hunt, but it is also used to announce a forthcoming marriage or a burial feast. It consists of a length of string in which a number of knots are tied, each knot representing one day. A number of *girq* are distributed to the surrounding villages during the weekly market, and they are kept by the headmen, who untie one of the knots each evening until one knot remains, when they know that the hunt takes place on the morrow.

Although the ritual meaning of the hunt has been obscured in the minds of the Santals, it is implicit in much that accompanies it. A hunt is the activity of the whole adult male population of the area. Women are not permitted to take part, but certain taboos must be observed by them while the men are away from home, to avert the lurking dangers of the forest. The prohibitions are similar to those enjoined on mourners and widows. No woman may wear flowers in her hair nor use the vermilion paint in the parting of her hair which is a sign of her married status. She should also leave off wearing the iron bangle which is another symbol of her marriage, and she must not bathe. At the present day, although the first two prohibitions are observed, there is some slackness about the others. But the main responsibility for placating the possibly malevolent influences residing in the forest rests with the *dihri*, or hunt priest. This is a special office, and the name is evidently the same as the Khond *dehuri* and the Ho *dihiri*, or priest. Among the Santals the *dihri* is a priest only at the time of the hunt, and he is appointed for the *pargana*. On the morning of the day when the hunt opens he performs the sacrifice of a brown hen on the edge of the forest which will be entered, and the tribal spirits are invoked to protect the men from wild beasts. He is encouraged by the spectators, who remind him that if any of them comes to harm they will hold him responsible. At times a certain amount of mimic hunting takes place in connection with the sacrifice, during which the *dihri* plays the part of the hunted animal.

The hunt lasts through the greater part of the day. The forest is surrounded by parties from different villages and the game gradually driven towards the centre. Within living memory the stock of game in most parts of the area has declined, and some of the hunts are now poorly attended for

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CHAPTER 4

DANCING, MUSIC AND POETRY

THE word *rąską*, meaning "pleasure", is often on the lips of the Santals, and it is dear to their hearts. They turn from their difficulties and sorrows to find solace in one or other of the many ways in which they can experience *rąską*. Among these dancing is one of the most important. Their word for dancing is the same as that used for the play of children—*enec'*—and dancing is indeed the play of the tribe. In every village there is a dancing floor, an open space that is well cared for. At festival times it is swept and freshly plastered with cowdung by young unmarried girls, and when it is not in use for dancing it is the place where the young men gather in the evenings to discuss their affairs and interests.

Some of the dances are connected with particular festivals, and they are performed only at those times or during the whole of the month in which the festival takes place. There are other dances that are suitable at any time during the year. Some are dances for women alone and others for men alone, while in a few both men and women dance. The chief element of variety is introduced by means of varying the rhythm; to the casual observer most of the dances look the same. A group of men or of women dance together, forming a line with their arms linked, stepping sideways or forward and then backward, keeping time to the beating accompaniment of the drums, moving either in a circle or from one side of the dancing-floor to the other, and from time to time breaking out into song. Whenever there is an occasion for rejoicing there will be dancing. It is much in evidence during the celebrations and ceremonies after the birth of a child or at his fuller reception into the tribe, and again during marriage festivities. The general type of dance on all these occasions is known as *doṅ*, which has within it many variations. At these times it is the women who do the dancing, while the men furnish an accompaniment with drums and flutes, and many of the songs refer directly to the purpose for which the folk have gathered together. During marriage ceremonies the *bapla*, or type of dance specifically associated with marriages, is also in evidence. The *doṅger* is the dance of the men on the night of the annual hunt. It is a wild type of dance, when there is much leaping in the air. Two of the young men stripped of clothing dance about in front of the lines, and the

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decorated with paper streamers. One of the songs sung to the accompaniment of the *buan* is in honour of the instrument itself and recounts the birth and growth of the gourd on the manure heap. Some of the dances enact hunting scenes and fights with bow and arrow.

During weddings and festivals the dancing takes place at night as well as in the daytime. Drink is plentiful, and the dance goes on until the moon is setting and the first light of morning appears in the sky. At these times dancing is associated with romance as well as with illicit flirtations and unions; amid the general rejoicing it is easy for couples to slip away unnoticed. Dancing, however, is not by any means confined to the more formal and set occasions. During the hot season in particular there is an almost nightly gathering in some part of the village, when the younger members of the community dance together. At these times the *lagre*, a simple dance, is much used. Of this there are many variations, and different varieties appear to be popular in different localities. One of the most popular in the area is a variety of *lagre* known as *porob*, which appears to be unknown elsewhere. These dances are suitable for any occasion.[1]

Santal music is largely but not entirely associated with dancing. The Santals are a musical people and find in music an outlet for the emotional and imaginative sides of their nature. From an early age boys begin to play on a whistle, the high and plaintive notes of which can be heard coming from the fields and woods as the boys tend the herds. Later most of them become proficient in playing the flute. The name *tirio* is used to denote different kinds of flute as well as the boys' whistle. Flutes contain six holes, and the usual type is the true flute that is held to one side—the instrument associated with Krishna in Hindu mythology. Some are beautifully made. One man playing at Sarenga during the Lakshmi Puja had a beautiful specimen; at the higher end there was a brass figure of Krishna playing the flute, while at the other end there was mounted a brass dove. Another type is shaped like an inverted T, the air being blown into the base of the T, while the arms,

[1] Bodding's *Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 331, lists thirty-one dances.

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and then a ram. The blood is placed in a vessel and fixed on the ground, surrounded with small stones. Only men may eat the meat of the animals sacrificed. The girls of this sub-clan are not allowed to wear Bengali-style *saṛis* or shell bracelets at the time of their marriage, though they may do so after they are married. When the men of this sub-clan are bringing brides to their home they present them with a *haṣli*, the neck ring, made of brass.

A whole range of the sub-clans is known as *Sada*, or "white". They may represent a reforming element, for their characteristic is a revolt against the use of red vermilion paint. When the first ancestors of the Sada Hembrom, so it is said, were going to perform a sacrifice they thought that they had with them all that they needed, but when they reached the spot where the sacrifice was to take place it was discovered that they had left behind their supply of *sindur*, the vermilion-coloured earth that plays a large part in the Santal cult. When they saw this they completed the sacrifice without the *sindur*, and since then their descendants have been known as Sada Hembrom and they have continued to observe the custom so carelessly begun! In other ways, too, they have abjured the use of vermilion. They make no use of it in the marriage ceremonial, though once their daughters are married and have become members of other clans they may put vermilion in the parting of their hair. The cloth which is a part of the presents given at the time of marriages must be white without any border, and their womenfolk are limited to plain cloth throughout life. The same pattern of behaviour applies to all the Sada sub-clans. The Sada Hāsdāk', along with some other sub-clans, when they perform their sub-clan sacrifices, first of all model a scorpion out of paste made from flour and water and offer it before going on to offer a hen, then a pig, and lastly a goat. This particular sub-clan has to eat all the flesh of the animals sacrificed and they are not allowed to throw any part of it away.

Some of the Murmu sub-clans are restricted in the type of dwelling-house that they may build. The majority of Santal house roofs are constructed on what is known in Bengal as the "charchala" plan. This consists of a thatch that slopes up from each of the four walls of the house. The main beam is set well above the four walls, being smaller than the length of the house, with four corner beams fixed two at each end of the main beam and going down to the four corners of the house to form the first stage of the framework on which the thatch rests. Most of the Murmu, however, have to build up the two end walls so that

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cation. In many cases Bengali names that bear some resemblance to the form of the private name come into use. Thus Poslo has become Padma Lochan and Kala has become Kalachand. Ernest Soren was known throughout the countryside by the name that he received at his baptism. At the time of his *chatiar* he was given the name of Singrai, this being the name of his paternal grandfather's elder brother. From the same time he was addressed as Jhongol, thus receiving not only the private name but the outer name of the same relative, who was not then alive. Before he could walk he was usually addressed as Thenta, a name that signifies a restless bundle of mischief. Later when he was growing up he was known by his contemporaries as Dangra Sorkar, or Sorkar for short. The name Sorkar is often applied to those who are going to school, but he was known as the "bullock" Sorkar because he did not conceal his fondness for beef, whereas educated Santals are generally supposed to conform to Hindu custom and shun it. Names of relatives are bestowed without regard to whether the relatives concerned are living or dead.

The village community takes no formal notice of the growing child after the performance of the *janam chatiar* until he is ready for the ceremony of initiation, or *caco chatiar*. *Caco* is a word that means a toddler, one who is learning to walk. The ceremony, however, is not performed until the child is growing up. It is somewhat misleading to describe the ceremony as one of initiation, for in comparison with the elaborate ritual with which initiation is accomplished in many parts of the world it is a pale and colourless proceeding. In the Bankura area the performance of the rite is of an extremely casual nature. It is nevertheless the equivalent for Santals of initiation ceremonies in other societies, and it retains its importance not because of the intrinsic character of the ritual but because of certain consequences that follow from its non-observance. Unless the *caco chatiar* has been performed, no Santal boy or girl may be married, nor cremated after death. It may be that the custom has been drastically modified because of the expense involved, as the whole village should be feasted. It is now customary for families to wait until the ceremony can be performed for several children at the same time, and it is therefore delayed until the impending marriage of the eldest child makes it inevitable. In the village of Barikul, Babulal recorded a case in which the father and the mother had been living together for some years without having themselves gone through any marriage ceremonial. For both of them it had

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addition to the bride price, to receive a cloth for the bride's mother, one for her father's eldest sister and one each for her two grandmothers.

Some agreement must also be reached about the time of the marriage. This must not take place in the month in which either the bridegroom or bride was born. Formerly, I was told, there was no other prohibition regarding the month. Nowadays, however, the general practice of Hindus in Northern India is followed. Astrologers are not consulted, but marriages may not take place during the rains, and the most popular months are during the spring when the harvest has been gathered in and food is abundant. When the time is approaching, the actual date of the wedding is arranged by the go-between, and the *girę* is used to mark off the days remaining.

The whole community in both villages is vitally concerned in the due celebration of the wedding, and this fact is emphasized by the rôle of the village officials. The *jogmaṅjhi* of the bride's village acts as the master of ceremonies from the time when the marriage booths have to be erected until the end. The headman of the bridegroom's village does not take part in the preliminary visits by virtue of his office, but when the two families immediately involved are satisfied that they wish to proceed, both headmen are called in. They have to be present when the engagement is confirmed, and they are consulted about suitable dates. The final "contract" at the climax of the wedding celebrations is entered into by the people of the two villages, and it is made by the respective headmen. The village priest also plays a part, for the community involved in the marriage includes the spirits, who are guardians of the welfare of the tribe, and the ancestors, guardians of family and clan. Their blessing has to be sought. In an interesting passage Dr. Verrier Elwin says of the marriage ceremonial of the tribes of the Maikal hills: "There is little religion in it." On any definition of religion it would be difficult to maintain this thesis with regard to Santal marriage. The whole passage is quoted here, for the rest of what is said does apply in most of its detail to the Santal form of marriage: "We have already spoken of this ceremony as a work of art. There is little religion in it, but it has great social and symbolic value. It is hard to conceive of a better way of impressing on a man and woman their social and sexual union. The tying together of the clothes, the exchange of rings, the first meals together, the ceremonies by the river that symbolize mutual aid in domestic, sexual and food-obtaining activities, are of great significance.

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585 182 They are all the more important because some of them are things that a boy and girl would never do publicly together."[1] Among the Santals many of the symbolic acts cannot be truly interpreted apart from their relation to the unseen world. The invocations used in addressing the spirits at the time of marriage come as near to true prayer as any used at other times.[2] Before the wedding party leaves the bridegroom's village for the home of the bride, the bridegroom's father provides a hen for the village priest, who offers it in the sacred grove. He prays: "We offer to you a hen because of the marriage booth. Accept it, enjoy it and grow big. Now we are about to go as a marriage party to such and such a village. Guard us so that on the way through the forest there may be no sudden fright, no tripping, no tumbling, no spells, no enchantments. Clear the way for us to right and to left, O father spirits. There we shall eat and drink. May we suffer no stomach pains, no head pains. Guard us also so that there be no quarrels, no bickerings, no divisions, no disturbances, no ruin, no spoiling between relations."

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[343] [476] Before the marriage, booths are erected in the courtyards of both homes, and all the villagers assist in the work. Straw ropes are strung from side to side in the village street with mango leaves inserted through the strands, and the courtyards are decorated in the same manner. The posts of the booths are made with branches of the *matkom* tree. In the floor a hole is dug in which some fresh turmeric mixed with sun-dried rice, five cowrie shells and three leaves of *dhubi*[3] grass are buried. These are covered in and then the whole floor is plastered with cowdung The young men who build the booth are feasted and provided with beer. On the day before setting out for the bride's village the bridegroom's party go to the village bathing place for the "water marriage". One of the young men digs a small hole at the water side into which the water can seep and three arrows are planted round the hole. Vermilion is placed on the arrows, while at their base are placed some cowrie shells and a hen's egg. One of the women shoots at the water with an arrow, while another strikes it with a "sword", generally a stick. Then libations of beer are poured out to *Marak Buru* and the ancestors before all present partake. Finally, water is drawn in pots and taken to the home. Again when they reach the courtyard another hole is dug, the arrows are placed round it and the water

[1] V. Elwin and S. Hivale, *Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills*, p. 103.
[2] One example has been quoted in Chapter 6, p. 67.
[3] *Cynodon dactylon*, Pers. Reg.

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is poured into the hole. The "anointing girls" are tied to the arrows by a thread fastened to their left wrists, and they have to husk a grain of rice in their fingers without breaking it while the bridegroom is shaved and bathed preparatory to being anointed. The anointing ceremony is carried out in the evening by unmarried girls who anoint the assembled company with a mixture of oil and turmeric. The village priest and then his wife are first anointed, after which the remainder of the officials, then the villagers, then the father and mother of the bridegroom, and lastly the bridegroom himself.

A similar ceremony is carried out in the home of the bride, beginning with the "water marriage". The bride is led out in procession from the house to the courtyard holding the hand of her *hili*, or elder brother's wife, and accompanied by two unmarried girls, the "anointing girls". In her right hand the *hili* holds a brass pot full of water which she sprinkles to right and to left. The other girls bear plates in their hands on which there are several leaf cups. One contains a small lamp that has been lit, and others contain turmeric and sun-dried rice and sprigs of *dhubi* grass. The women in the courtyard sing:

Round and about
The guinea fowl flies;
Round and about
The black cow's house.
It fell in the water hole, a golden chain;
It fell in the spring, a silver anklet.
Who picked up the golden chain?
Who has gathered the silver anklet?
Kaṛu[1] picked up the golden chain,
Kaṛu has gathered the silver anklet.[2]

The procession moves round the booth three times, after which the bride is seated under its roof. The anointing follows, and the bride is anointed after the *dhubi* grass has been placed on her head. When the ceremony is over the bride is led back into the house and the older folk dance and sing:

In whose courtyard has water sprung forth,
Water sprung forth and is now flowing away?
In a Hembrom[3] courtyard has water sprung forth,
Water sprung forth that is now flowing away.[4]

[1] Here the name of the bridegroom is sung.
[2] The clan name of the bride.
[3] See Appendix B, No. 26.
[4] See Appendix B, No. 27.

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585 If the distance between the two villages be great, the party of the bridegroom will have arrived on the outskirts of the bride's village on that evening and are accommodated in a special shelter for the night. They do not enter the village, but at the first sign of approaching morning the go-between comes from the bridegroom's camp, bringing with him a small quantity of the oil and turmeric left over from the bridegroom's anointing, and with this the bride is once more anointed.

585 574 [624] Meanwhile the bridegroom's party make ready to approach the bride's house. The *jogmaṅjhi* and *godet'* of the village meet them at the end of the village street, where they are asked to wait awhile. Mats are placed for them to sit on and they are given tobacco to smoke. The bridegroom's party always enter a village from the west end and leave from the east end. The officials who greet the party are accompanied by a band of young folk from the village who sing and dance and who in the course of their songs make insulting remarks about the bridegroom and the village from which he comes. These insults are expected and have to be accepted in good part. When they at length set out for the bride's house, the bridegroom is carried by a woman who lifts him and carries him on her hip as she would a child. On first arriving at the bride's home, some of her friends pretend that the bridegroom is not properly groomed, so they proceed to shave him again with a leaf for a mirror and a rough piece of wood for [606] a razor. When he greets his future father-in-law he places a necklace round his neck while his father-in-law winds a turban cloth round his head, after which they sprinkle water over each other [576] with a spray of mango leaves. They exchange *pan*[1] and embrace 585 each other. When the bride is brought out of the house she is carried in the same way as the bridegroom, and first of all they sprinkle sun-dried rice over each other (this is called "sowing" the rice), and follow it by sprinkling water with the sprays of mango leaves. The bride is seated in a basket and made to face the west, while the bridegroom faces towards the east. Then he takes from a small wooden box that is wrapped in his waistband the vermilion which he proceeds to place on the bride's head, and as he does so the assembled company make the air resound with shouts of "*Horibol*". This is sheer Hinduism, for it is [177] the invocation of Hari, one of the names of Vishnu the Saviour. The bridegroom helps the bride down from the basket, places an

[1] The leaf of the *Piper betle*, L., rolled with lime, the nut of the areca palm and other spices wrapped inside it. Rarely eaten by Santals except on ceremonial occasions, but very generally used by others in Bengal.

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iron bangle on her wrist and iron betel nut crackers in her hand. Then they are led inside the house, where they are set down and fed on a dish of black beans and rice. The bridegroom has to make a show of refusing to eat until the bride's father presents him with a rupee.

The party outside begin to drink beer that is variously named by the different groups. The bride's fellow villagers drink beer "in honour of the guests", while the bridegroom's fellow villagers drink "in honour of the new relations"; the young people are permitted to drink "dew beer" that will help them to avoid the chill they might otherwise contract by dancing and drumming through the whole night. While a feast of goat's meat curry and rice is being prepared the guests sit around and talk and sing. The headmen of the two villages, however, have some work to complete. The presents from the bridegroom's family are handed over by their headman to the bride's headman. These are for the most part clothing. The *boŋga iṭaṭ'* is a cloth of twelve cubits for the sister of the bride's father. *Iṭaṭ'* is a word that ordinarily means food left over on the plate of one who has eaten; perhaps it is applied to these presents in the sense that they are left over when the bride price has been given and received. The bride's mother receives a cloth of eleven cubits. The grandmothers receive cloths of ten cubits known as the *here iṭaṭ'*, or husks. The bride's father may receive a cow, and her maternal uncle is given a money fee, it is said, instead of a cow. The amount given is small, usually a few annas. The headmen themselves receive a half-rupee each, the *jogmaĩjhi* receives a loin-cloth and the *godet'* one anna, while the anointing maidens receive a half-anna each. In this way the special duties and responsibilities of various parties to the wedding are acknowledged. The bride's maternal grandmother is made to "pay" for her cloth. She does so by presenting five small measures of rice, five sticks of turmeric and five rolled cheroots to the bridegroom's headman, all being wrapped in a bundle together. The bride price that is paid at this time is also paid through the headmen. Many of the presents and fees are known by hidden names. The bride price is called the "milk tree", a term that is also used sometimes for a mother; the fee received by the headmen is known as the "tree of the sacred grove"; the cloth for the bride's mother is called "hot water".[1]

When the feasting is over the bridegroom's party gets ready to leave and the members are escorted to the end of the village street. There once more they sit down and a final beer-drinking

[1] See Chapter 4, p. 48, for other examples connected with marriage.

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585 takes place. This is drunk only by the headmen of the two villages. Water from a brass pot is spilt on the ground and the head-
585 man of the bride's village delivers a marriage sermon. Here and
537 there the words of the sermon may vary slightly, but the form is fairly well established. The bridegroom is addressed: "Well now then, from today we have tied a wooden cow bell round your neck. When you go out to hunt and when you go to collect fruits in the forest you may eat a half of whatever you find, but you must bring a half of it home." The bride is told: "Well now, until today you have been able to go about just as you wanted to, but from today we have tied a wooden cow bell round your neck; you can no longer go about to markets and festivals as you please." The headman of the bridegroom's village is told: "O father headman, from today our two villages have become as one. When the girl has any illness or when she dies, it is for you to see to it. Up till now you have not been responsible, but from today we shall require of you blood of the head, blood of the ear. If any mishap befalls and you cannot spare a man to send the news, then you must send word by a dog. Formerly you were strangers and you used to pass by our village. Now if any of your people is passing this way going to hunt or going to market and he is thirsty, he must stop and ask for a drink." The headman of the bridegroom's village makes a suitable reply acknowledging the new ties that bind them together.

583 The comparative freedom of association between youths and girls in markets, fairs and other gatherings of Santals gives rise to situations that cannot be dealt with as normal marriages, and so other forms are recognized. When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, providing there are no barriers to the marriage on account of clan and family relationships, she is encouraged to go to the home of the youth involved in the case. Bride price is paid, but the ceremony of putting vermilion on her head has to be postponed until after the birth of her child. Sometimes the village has to take cognizance of a situation arising out of the disagreement of the parents of either a girl or a boy to a marriage which they both desire. It may be that the boy and girl have run away together. Then the village officials call a council to regularize the situation. The father of the bride can claim only half the usual amount of bride price and the only cloths provided by the bridegroom's father are for the bride's mother and maternal grandmother. The third cloth is not given, I was told, "because it has been eaten by white ants", i.e. when the young couple lay out on the ground of the forest together. There are two ways open to

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of ties that have been maintained with kinsfolk and something on the general regard for the individuals concerned. The same variety is found in the degree to which precautions against *bhut* and other unseen adversaries are observed, but a new element has been introduced in the prayer offered on the occasion by the local leader of the church. Infant Baptism follows usually during some part of the first year of the child's life. Very young children are withheld from Baptism as a rule, and this may be partly due to a feeling that the ceremony is in some way dangerous to the new-born infant. Among some people it is sought in connection with the time when the child first begins to eat rice; among others it is customary for them to offer their children in Baptism on Christmas Day. When the child is taken to church to be baptized both the parents and the child are dressed in new clothes and relatives and neighbours are invited to a feast in the home of the child.

Many pre-Christian elements remain in the preparations made for marriage. The choice of marriage partners is still largely in the hands of the parents of the bridegroom and the bride. The services of a go-between are engaged and ceremonial visits take place during the course of which the bride price is negotiated and paid. During the early years of the mission the custom of bride price was actively discouraged, but a fuller understanding of its importance has led to a tacit acceptance by the authorities; in the meanwhile it is now often referred to by Christians under the name of "mutual help". The rise of economic standards in the Christian community is reflected in a tendency among parents of Christian girls to demand a bride price higher than the rate current in the non-Christian community. From time to time Christians have met to discuss means by which the bride price may be fixed and excessive demands restricted. On the eve of the religious ceremony which is central in Christian marriage the traditional anointing is observed in the homes of both parties to the marriage and many of the traditional songs are sung. A Christian explained these ceremonies by saying that they are regarded as a way of saying to the bride and bridegroom: "From now you are separate." It cannot be denied that they are an effective way of emphasizing this truth.

The marriage ceremony, which has to be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, is held either in a church building or, where there is no church, in the courtyard of the bride's home. The last occasion on which I was present at a Santal Christian marriage was in February 1945.

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The service took place in the church at Barikul; the month is significant, for Christians observe the same times and seasons as others. The bride, whose home was in the village, had been away to boarding school and was sixteen years old. For her wedding she was dressed in a red *sari*, and her head and face were covered by one end of the garment. The bridegroom was a village schoolmaster whose home was in a village some eight miles distant. He too was dressed in "respectable", i.e. Bengali, fashion, with a silk cloth thrown over his right shoulder. Many non-Christian women and girls crowded into the church with the Christians to watch, though non-Christian men stayed outside and peered through the windows. The service is according to the Order in the Book of Common Prayer, and the bridegroom presents the bride with a ring. The fact that the bride was holding in her left hand an iron *jonti*, or betel nut cracker, led to somewhat complicated shufflings when the ring was being placed in position. The mutual vows involve the repetition of the personal names of the bride by the bridegroom, and *vice versa*, a definite departure from tribal custom. When the Benediction had been pronounced a maternal aunt of the bride tied one end of the latter's *sari* to the end of the bridegroom's silk cloth, and this was followed by the signing of the register, an act that is always regarded with great interest by the non-Christians who observe it. While the register was being signed the men and women in the church sang alternate verses of a marriage song. Before the main party had left the building the rest of the congregation went out and the door was locked. No one else was allowed to leave the building until the bridegroom had promised to pay a fee to the old women whose duty it was to sweep the church, a building of mud walls with a thatched roof that was used also as a day school. The bride, the bridegroom and the officiating minister were garlanded.

At the bride's home after the ceremony we saw some of the mock garlands which the *lumti*, or bridesmaids, had made for the bridegroom and his father. They were of plaited coco-nut fibre decorated with tamarind fruits and pieces of the hard outer shell of the *sinjo* fruit. The groom and bride arrived back at the home still tied together; they were being led by the wife of the local "catechist", who held the bridegroom's right hand in her left, and the small procession was completed by an unmarried girl walking close behind the couple, holding an umbrella over their heads. The knot in their clothing was now untied and they were both carried into the house on the hip of a stalwart married woman to partake of their first meal together, the only time

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when they would sit and eat together. The feast took some time to prepare; the bride's relations—her parents were dead and she was married from the home of a paternal aunt, a blind widow—had provided a goat, but as they were in poor circumstances the Christian villagers had contributed the rice from their homes. While the guests waited for the food there was a good deal of singing, the songs being both traditional and Christian. Here are some examples noted at the time:

Two bows and six arrow shafts I kept in store.
The arrowheads have been sent ahead to *Radha*;[1]
The money also has been sent ahead to *Radha*.[2]

You who should have come yesterday at noon,
Why, sons, did you arrive in the evening?

Three headmen from three villages
Wrangled over the marriage booth;
They did not want to let go the vermilion giving.[3]

The daughter bids farewell and goes;
The house is forlorn, father, the house is forlorn.
The rice in the straw bundle has been pushed out;
Its wooden platform is forlorn, father, its wooden platform is forlorn.[4]

The following song struck a Christian note:

My life (Jesus) and your life,
Two lives (Jesus) are bound together;
Like the *aluk* creeper and the *bando*[5] creeper,
Like the spider web in the palmyra tree,
Two lives (Jesus) are bound together.[6]

On this occasion I was unable to remain to witness the final farewell and homegoing, but these follow closely the traditional Santal way.

In the death ceremonies there is little trace of pre-Christian modes of thought. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Christian teaching not only gives a new significance to the individual but also has something definite to say about the destiny of the human soul after death. The difference is emphasized for

[1] The name of the bridegroom's village.
[2] See Appendix B, No. 32.
[3] See Appendix B, No. 31.
[4] See Appendix B, No. 33.
[5] Two forest creepers.
[6] See Appendix B, No. 34.